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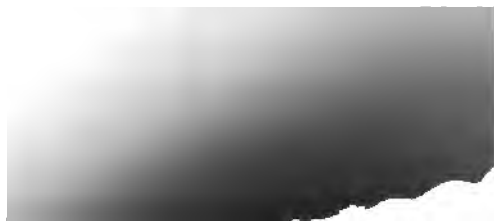


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HISTORY
OF
FREDERICK THE SECOND.

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HISTORY
OF
FREDERICK THE SECOND,
EMPEROR OF THE ROMANS.

FROM CHRONICLES AND DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED
WITHIN THE LAST TEN YEARS.

BY
T. L. KINGTON, M.A.

OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD, AND THE INNER TEMPLE.

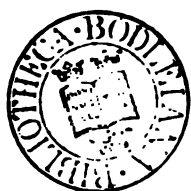
IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

Qua entro è lo Secondo Federico.'— DANTE, *Inferno*, x.

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PREFACE

THE history of the Emperor Frederick the Second has long been a favourite study with Continental scholars. Muratori has treated the subject like a priest; Giannone like a lawyer. Von Raumer has handled it with national pride; Höfler with ultramontane rancour. Indeed it is not easy for an Italian or a German to write with calm impartiality on this reign, a decisive epoch in the history of the two nations. France has supplied more candid judges in the persons of Cherrier and Bréholles.

It was not until lately that England furnished any important contributions to the study of the Emperor's life. A few lines in Gibbon, a few pages in Hallam contained all the information respecting it that was readily accessible to an English student. But of late years Dr. Milman has drawn the attention of his countrymen to this grand subject. In his *History of Latin Christianity* he devotes a whole volume to Innocent III. and Frederick II., the greatest of Popes and the greatest of Emperors. The glowing

ing colours, in which the Dean has portrayed the characters and events of that wonderful half century, render any second attempt to delineate the same period a very hazardous experiment.

I must plead in excuse, that since Dr. Milman wrote, several French and Latin monuments of Frederick's age, never before published, have been given to the world. I would especially instance the invaluable Chronicle of Fra Salimbene, the Burnet of the Thirteenth Century; this has been often consulted by previous writers, but was never printed until the year 1857.* Another record of the same age, the *Chronicon de rebus in Italiâ gestis* (always cited by me as 'Chronicon,' for the sake of brevity), the work of a zealous Ghibelline, long lay unnoticed in the British Museum until it was published by M. Huillard-Bréholles.†

This gentleman, and his generous Mæcenæ the Duc de Luynes, have laid every enquirer into Frederick's times under the deepest obligation. To them we owe the *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, a collection of three thousand charters and letters bearing upon the Emperor's reign, almost one third of which were before unknown to the world; a few previously-unpublished chronicles of Frederick's age are included in the work. I need not say that I have

* See 'Monumenta ad provincias Parmensem et Placentinam spectantia.'

† See 'Chronicon Placentinum,' by Bréholles.

made full use of this vast storehouse, the existence of which did not come to my knowledge until after I had begun my own book. Any letter or fact, for which I do not give a reference, will be found in the *Historia Diplomatica*, that imperishable monument of a French scholar's industry, of a French nobleman's liberality. I have paid particular attention to the admirable preface which M. Bréholles has prefixed to the Latin documents. Nor is this the only service he has rendered to literature; I can promise a rich treat to any antiquarian who will look out the word Huillard-Bréholles in the Catalogue of the British Museum.

I might speak of his kindness to myself when I visited him in Paris, kindness, I suspect, not very often recorded in the annals of literature; of his books of reference readily placed in my hands; of his unpublished manuscripts cheerfully lent to me to be transcribed. It is in the power of others to test his accuracy, which surpasses even that of Von Raumer. I must place on record the invariable kindness which I received in Paris; every one, from M. Bréholles and M. Cherrier down to the doorkeepers of the libraries, lent me all the aid in their power. I must pay a grateful tribute to Alma Mater for her latest institution, the School of Law and Modern History; I have to thank Dr. Milman for the advice he gave me as to the books I should consult; my warmest gratitude is due to Sir Thomas Phillips for the liberality with which he threw open

to me his unrivalled treasures of books and manuscripts at Middlehill. Nor can I be silent on the promptness with which the authorities at the British Museum attended to my suggestions as to the purchase of new books. Few writers have had the paths of literature rendered so smooth to them as I have had. Few have had the advantage of following such guides, as Von Raumer, Milman, Cherrier, and Bréholles have been to me.

The four opening chapters of my work are introductory. The first of these is derived from the histories of Giannone and Amari; the second from Hallam. The third is the shortest possible abstract of a great part of Von Raumer's noble work. The fourth is mainly inspired by Dr. Milman, though I have added much new matter taken from lately published Franciscan writings of the Thirteenth Century. From the end of the fourth chapter to the end of the book I have searched for myself in the old chronicles of the time, contained in Bouquet, Muratori, Pertz, Böhmer, and other collections.

The most careless reader will not fail to remark the resemblance between some of the events in Frederick's reign and those which are signalizing the year 1862. I have been careful to draw attention to the Princes around his throne, such as the Dukes of Lorraine, Bavaria, and Brunswick; the Margraves of Meissen and Baden; the Counts of Wurtemberg and Savoy; and the Burgraves of

Nuremberg ; all of whom have left descendants in the male line to fill the European thrones of our own day. Other lines have been less permanent ; I cannot help smiling, on looking over my manuscripts begun in the autumn of 1858, to see how many sentences Napoleon, Cavour, and Garibaldi have forced me to strike out. Rejoicing that better days seem to be in store for the interesting nations over which Frederick reigned, I end by asking the indulgence of the public for an author's first attempt.

T. L. KINGTON.

6 LANSDOWNE ROAD, WIMBLEDON :

June, 1862.

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" 167,	" 16,	"	Kyburg	"	Kiburg.	
" 173,	" 3,	"	Biandrato	"	Biandrate.	
" 209,	" 21,	"	Alesina	"	Lesina.	
" 332,	" 14,	"	Recordana	"	Ricordana.	
" 361,	" 6,	"	Severo	"	Severino.	

CHAP. I. ruins of more powerful cities. But stormy times
 were at hand. The whole of Italy was convulsed in
 the struggle between Totila and Teia on the one side,
 Belisarius and Narses on the other. Yet we turn
 away from the capture of Taranto and the battle of
 Mount Vesuvius to a more peaceful scene; we mark
 the foundation of that edifice which was to bridge
 over the dark chasm between the age of Justinian
 and the age of Luther. St. Benedict came to estab-
 lish at Monte Cassino the head-quarters of his Order,
 a power more lasting than that of his Ostrogothic
 visitor, King Totila. Meanwhile the Greek convents
 of St. Basil were widely scattered over the South
 of Italy and the neighbouring island, the debatable
 land between Rome and Constantinople.

The Exarchs, who represented the latter city,
 were not allowed a long tenure of the recovered
 provinces. Alboin led his Lombards over the Alps,
 a race worthy to rank as conquerors with their
 kindred tribes, the Visigoths, Franks, and Angles.
 In 569, his successor Autharis began to attack the
 South, and rode into the sea at Reggio, striking with
 his spear the pillar there erected, while he cried:
 'This is the boundary of the Lombard kingdom.'
 It was this King who exchanged paganism for Arian-
 ism, and who established the duchy of Benevento in
 addition to the two others already existing in
 Northern Italy. The first Duke, Zoton, laid waste
 the chosen Abbey of St. Benedict, which did not
 arise from its ruins for 130 years.

But this instance of Lombard ferocity stood
 almost alone. None of the German invaders were
 milder in the treatment of their vassals, than were
 the new masters of Italy, as their laws still remain

IAP. called in Pepin and Charlemagne; the Lombard
I. kingdom ceased to exist.

-1194.

But the Lombard duchy of Benevento stood firm as ever under two noble chiefs, Arechis and Grimbald; these assumed the crown and sceptre, together with the title of prince. It is no slight boast, that they were the only rulers in Christendom able to withstand the German, the new Emperor of the West, though he was aided by the Popes. All that he could do after seven years of warfare was to take Chieti, and to exact a yearly tribute. 'With the help of God I will ever be free,' was the declaration of his Lombard enemy. Yet it may be doubted whether this stout resistance was of any real advantage to Italy. A broad line, thanks to Arechis and his son, was drawn between the North and South; Rome, lying between the two powers, was fully aware of the advantages she derived from this disunion of the peninsula; and many centuries rolled away before Italy could be anything more than a geographical name.

The bones of Charlemagne had scarcely been laid in the earth, before a new event of European interest took place. Sicily had long smarted under the incursions of Moslem pirates. The female captives, torn from her shores, had given the name of Sikilliat to a mansion near the Caliph's abode. The images of gold and silver, once the boast of Sicilian shrines, had been carried off and sold through Moslem agency to the idolaters in Hindostan, though the more orthodox of the Saracens had felt a pang of remorse at this traffic in the works of Satan. But in the year 827, the systematic conquest of the island was undertaken; it had escaped

HAP. proceeded to elect a Wali for the Great Land, by
 I. which Italy was meant, while Sicily was governed
 1194. by a Sahib.

There was always much disunion among the Moslem conquerors, and the Greek power in the island thus gained a long respite. The Berbers, mostly given to industry, held the country between Mazara and Girgenti; while the Arabs, the superior race, were established to the North, between Trapani and Palermo. These last furnished the lawyers, governors, and captains of Sicily; from them was recruited the *Giund*, an hereditary class of armed nobility, paid by Christian money. The *gezia* was a poll tax levied upon all who were not Moslem, in consideration of which the tributaries were allowed to enjoy their own religion. The Sicilian Christians were forbidden to carry arms, to mount horses, to build high mansions, to drink wine in public, or to celebrate pompous funeral rites. They were forced to wear a peculiar dress, to rise up to a true believer, and to abstain from building new churches and cloisters. Moslem women were not to be annoyed by the presence of Christian females at the baths, and Moslem ears were not to be scandalized by the sound of the reading of the Gospel or the ringing of bells. But Christian slaves, thanks to the merciful laws of Mohammed, were better off in Sicily than in Italy or France; any one of them might take a short cut to freedom by professing Islam. The three vales, into which the island is divided, were under very different institutions; that of Mazara was full of slaves, that of Noto was held by Christians in a state of vassalage, while the Val Demone abounded in independent or tributary com-

IAP. the island to Palermo, which henceforth took the
 I. place of Syracuse, just as Cairo and Kairewan had
 -1194. supplanted older foundations. The captive clergy
 were shut up in foul prisons along with negroes and
 Jews for seven years, after escaping the perils of a
 religious dispute with the Wali, though a cry for the
 blood of the polytheists was uttered by a fanatical
 Imaum.

Ibrahim Ibn Ahmed, at whose command the siege
 of Syracuse had been undertaken, was a man of
 great genius, but was guilty of wholesale barbarities
 in Africa. He suppressed the revolt of the Sicilian
 Moslem, putting to death the leaders of both Arabs
 and Berbers, whom he played off against each
 other; Palermo was sacked by his African soldiery
 in the year 900 with horrible cruelty. Having
 received orders from Bagdad to resign his power in
 Africa, he came to wage the holy war in Sicily,
 which he had hitherto governed from afar. He
 completed the conquest of the island, a work of
 eighty years, by the storm of Taormina; the citizens,
 who had all jeered at the reproofs of the modern
 Elias, were ruthlessly butchered. The victor now
 assailed the mainland; his son had already seized
 and depopulated Reggio. 'I will take care of
 Italy,' cried Ibrahim, 'I will do what I please with
 the dwellers therein; expect me at Rome, and then
 will come the turn of Constantinople.' But Italy
 was saved; this new Alaric died under the walls of
 Cosenza, and Naples was relieved from her agony of
 fear at his approach. The Tenth century is chiefly
 taken up with the struggles of the Sicilian Emirs to
 shake off the yoke of Kairewan. These struggles
 were at first fruitless; the rising dynasty of the

HAP. I. The later Kelbites degenerated from their fathers, who had so manfully faced the assaults of both the Eastern and Western Cæsars. The Moslem nobility began to die out, and lingered only in the Christian part of the island. The persecuted followers of Ali fled to Sicily for refuge, and civil wars were soon raging; each chief seized on all the towns he could, while the central authority was at an end. The hopes of the vassals were rising. Pisa had already begun that career of conquest in Sardinia and Sicily, which may be read in rude Latin verse engraved on the West front of her noble cathedral. More formidable foes were even nearer at hand, at whose approach the native Christians took courage. A few Sicilian monasteries had survived all through the dreary seven generations of Mohammedan oppression; religion in that country has invariably allied itself with patriotism. The hermits of Sicily went forth to proclaim her wrongs throughout Europe. St. Nilus, the statesman and prophet of Rossano, clad in sackcloth which he changed only once a year, was honoured by Emperors and Popes. St. Vitalis lived on Mount Etna, St. Philaret at Traina; while the Syracusan Simeon astonished the Germans by making the top of the old Roman gate at Trèves his perpetual abode. The deliverance of his country was nigh; and while welcoming a people back into the Christian fold, we need not regret the hundred and twenty Moslem, who made a name for themselves in grammar, philology, law, medicine, theology, and poetry, while basking in the smiles of the Palermitan court.

Sicily had been undergoing for more than two centuries the sharp discipline of the Saracen scymitar;

her sister provinces of the mainland had been almost equally harassed by three different masters, the champions of three different rituals. Not many years after Charlemagne's death the great duchy of Benevento, which had once included almost the whole of Southern Italy, fell to pieces. Its work was done; it had stayed the progress of Charlemagne. The Greeks were now able to retake most of their lost provinces; while the degenerate Lombard princes of Benevento, Salerno, and Capua found their only safety in feudal dependence upon the German sovereigns. The Saracens were called in by the contending parties; these unbelievers established themselves on Monte Gargano, the renowned sanctuary of St. Michael, but their great encampment was on the banks of the Garigliano. They swept the country, carrying off all the horses, arms, and young women; Monte Cassino was now for the second time destroyed. After their inroads had been pushed as far inland as Narni, they were exterminated in 916 by a combination of Greeks and Lombards, aided by the Pope and King Berengar. The oppressive exactions of the Eastern Greeks were still more systematic; they made slaves of those of their brother Christians who had submitted to the Saracens; the only way of saving the Calabrian peasants from their masters expectant, the foreign soldiery, was first to embark the troops on board ship, and then to set free the crowd of captives remaining on the shore. The Byzantine Empire was now being revived by the energy of Nicephorus Phocas, John Zimisce, and the Slayer of Bulgarians; who built Troja, Melfi, and Firenzuola, and established at Bari their Catapan, a magis-

CHAP.
I.
400-1194.

[AP. trate with absolute powers, whence the Capitanata
I. takes its name.*

-1194.

But the Empire of the West, restored in the person of the German Otho, was a redoubtable rival to the Empire of the East. No Kaiser for the next hundred years thought his journey to Rome complete, if he did not receive the homage of the Lombard princes at Capua and Salerno, over which he exercised sovereign rights. The second Otho, surnamed the Bloody, led the flower of Germany and Upper Italy into Calabria. Here he was defeated in a stubborn battle at Colonne by the combined Greeks and Saracens, and fled by sea to Rossano. After uttering an empty boast that he would throw a bridge of boats across the Straits of Messina, he sacked Benevento for its treachery, and carried off the bones of its patron, St. Bartholomew, to Rome. These Othos were zealous champions of the rights of Rome against Constantinople. The Latin and Greek rituals made Southern Italy their battle ground. The Popes pretended to special authority over Gaeta, and moreover erected many of the Southern bishoprics into metropolitan sees. The duchies of Naples, Amalfi, and little Sorrento, which subsisted as independent states all through these troublous times, claimed each its own archbishop. The three Lombard capitals were of course promoted to equal honour, and the Latin archbishop of Salerno disputed the jurisdiction of the Greek archbishop of Reggio. Bari was the head-quarters of the Eastern ritual, while Rossan

* The Cathedral of Matera is almost the only Greek church in the South of Italy that has been spared by the constant wars and earthquakes.

CHAP. Italy. They found their countrymen installed in the
 I. new settlement of Aversa, not far from Naples; the
 400-1104. Norman knights quartered here always held them-
 selves ready to bear arms in the quarrels of the
 Lombard princes who still reigned at Capua, Salerno,
 and Benevento. The German Cæsars, Henry the
 Saint, Conrad the Salic, and Henry the Third, on
 their visits to these outposts of their empire, invested
 the gallant strangers with the newly-acquired pos-
 sessions. The Greek Cæsars, on their side, were
 ready to employ, but not to reward, the Norman
 chivalry. Maniaces the Catapan, trained in the wars
 of Syria, led against the Sicilian Moslem in 1038 a
 motley host of Russians, Scandinavians, Paulicians,
 and Italians. The famous Hardrada, if we may be-
 lieve his national Sagas, served on this occasion; the
 wise Arduin from Lombardy, and William Iron-Arm
 at the head of three hundred Normans, took a better
 authenticated part in the enterprise. Messina and
 Syracuse were speedily wrested from the unbelievers,
 but the bravest allies of Maniaces were disgusted at
 his ingratitude, shown in the division of the Sicilian
 spoils; they dissembled their wrongs, withdrew to
 Calabria, summoned their brethren from Aversa, and
 boldly set about the conquest of the Greek provinces.
 Victory after victory was won, until the whole of
 Apulia, except a few cities, was shared out among
 twelve Norman counts; Melfi became their capital.
 William Iron-Arm, the eldest of Tancred's offspring,
 was chosen chief of the new aristocracy; his captains
 declared his election by their suffrages to be a better
 title than any that Pope or Emperor could give.
 The name of Apulia, the first large province con-
 quered by the Normans, was noised abroad through-

out the Christian kingdoms; it came in time to stand for the whole of Southern Italy, as a general name. The tract depending on Benevento was next added to the dominions of the adventurers by the bounty of the Western Emperor, while he granted the city itself to the Papacy.

CHAP.
I.
400-1194.

The treachery of the Byzantine court and the rebellion of the oppressed Apulians had failed to shake the power so unexpectedly attained by the brave and crafty Normans; a more formidable danger was threatening from the North. Pope Leo brought in person an army of Suabian knights and Italian bandits against the new tyrants of Apulia. The battle of Civitella, which ensued, was to Italy what the battle of Hastings was to England thirteen years later. On both fields the stalwart Teutons were cut to pieces by the well-disciplined knights from the Bessin and Cotentin. The Pope, a captive in the hands of the enemies he had come to subdue, invested the Normans, henceforth the boldest champions of the Roman Church, with all the lands they might acquire. They made no sparing use of this grant, with which they gladly sanctified their conquests, betraying no impertinent curiosity as to its validity. The post left vacant by the deaths of his three elder brothers was filled by Robert Guiscard, who pushed his arms Southward as far as Reggio, and received from his barons the title of Duke of Apulia and Calabria. In a synod held at Melfi, A.D. 1059, the new Pope ratified Guiscard's title; the Norman, acknowledging himself tributary and vassal, was made Gonfalonier of the Church, receiving a banner, after the Italian fashion, at the hands of his liege-lord. It is hard to say what right the Papacy had to assume to itself

HAP. a prerogative which must have belonged either to
 I. the Western or to the Eastern Empire.

1194. But the fact remains that, however doubtful the origin of the Papal claims may have been, Rome has for the last eight centuries claimed the feudal superiority over the Two Sicilies. Even within living memory, a tribute has been paid to the Holy See by the King of Naples in acknowledgment of his dependence upon it. In the middle ages we shall find the Innocents and the Clements conferring or withholding the vassal crown at their pleasure, a fruitful source of bloodshed.

The Greek schismatics had been overthrown; it was now the turn of the orthodox Lombards and the free states of the Western coast. The old city of Capua had to yield to the arms of the new colony at Aversa. Salerno, which was the first town that witnessed the exploits of the Normans, and which Guiscard coveted for his capital, was taken after a long siege. Amalfi, dating from the time of Gregory the Great, and famous all over the East for its coinage and commerce, saw its independence and its prosperity pass away. Naples, in which the Greek and Latin rituals were both cherished, alone remained to be conquered. These duchies and cities were now very far removed from the power enjoyed by their mighty men of old; such as Athanasius, the duke bishop, accursed of the Popes as the ally of the Moslem; or Pandulf Ironhead, who had ruled almost half of Italy, and whose soul, according to the hermits, had disappeared into Mount Vesuvius. The Normans, men of greater piety than the more ancient lords of the land, were bountiful in their gifts of castles and domains to the Abbey of Monte Cassino.

age of modern Europe, to which her noblest houses love to trace their origin. This is a period abounding in great warriors, such as the Cid, Hardrada, Godfrey de Bouillon, and above all, the heroes who went forth from Normandy to conquests in Italy, England, and Palestine.

CHAP.
I
90-1194.

Not least among these was the youngest son of Tancred de Hauteville, Guiscard's brother Roger, from whose loins a line of kings was to issue. He led a band of Normans to recover Sicily from the decaying rule of the Kelbite dynasty. After receiving a consecrated standard at the hands of the same Pope who sent a like gift to William the Conqueror. Roger sailed from Calabria about the year 1060. The Emir Beitoun was his guide; the storm of Messina was the first exploit of the Normans. They were besieged in Traina by the combined forces of the Greeks and Saracens; but the great hardships there undergone were atoned for by the victory of Cerami. Roger sent to Rome all the banners taken on the occasion, and also four camels. The Eastern half of Sicily, which was full of Christians, was easily mastered; but a siege of five months was required for the reduction of Palermo in 1074. Its fate was afterwards shared by Girgenti and the other Arab strongholds of the West; Malta was not subdued until thirty years after the beginning of Roger's enterprise. The adventurer took the title of Great Count of Calabria and Sicily, and formed alliances with the noblest European realms. He granted free toleration to his Mohammedan subjects, from whom he recruited his armies, while at the same time he founded or restored Christian abbeys and bishoprics throughout the island. When his brother Guiscard, who had aided him to take Palermo, was laid in the

HAP. I. The further development of the Norman power in the South was delayed for a score of years, until Roger, the son of the Great Count, had arrived at man's estate. The young prince was then able to add Apulia to his Sicilian inheritance, owing to the opportune failure of Guiscard's line. He did not deem the Papal consent necessary to his consecration at Salerno, although the Apulian barons a short time before had professed themselves liegemen of the Holy See. Roger in a few years reduced Capua and Naples, the one held by an independent Norman prince, the other a free state. He now thought that his possessions entitled him to rank with the kings of France and England; he was accordingly invested by the Pope, not only with the crown, but with the mitre, dalmatica, ring, and sandals, the tokens of the peculiar spiritual sway claimed by the Norman princes. Roger proudly styled himself 'King, by the grace of God, of Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria, the helper and shield of Christians, son and heir of Roger the Great Count.' The boastful inscription on his sword proclaimed the extent of his power; the navy, the code of laws, and the high posts at court, were all creations due to the first monarch who made Palermo his capital.

But his title to his new rank was not secure; he had unluckily procured it from Anacletus, an unlawful intruder into the chair of St. Peter. St. Bernard upheld another Pope, and the claims of Innocent II. have accordingly prevailed. His partisans conspired for the ruin of the upstart King, who was speedily driven from Italy, while a pretender was invested with the sovereignty of Apulia. Innocent the Pope and Lothaire the Emperor of the West

each held one end of the gonfalon used in the new investiture, thus purposely leaving in doubt which of them was in truth liege lord of the South. But Roger was soon able to settle the question of ownership by his sword; he returned from Sicily, put to death the Apulian barons who had taken part against him, and confiscated their lands. St. Bernard came in a short time to love the King as much as St. Bruno had loved the Great Count; peace was made, and Innocent ratified the honours bestowed by Anacletus. A tenth kingdom was thus added to Latin Europe, known in Italian history as The Kingdom. It kept its boundaries the same for rather more than seven hundred years, when it merged itself into another and happier realm.

CHAP.
I.
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The new monarch had now leisure for foreign conquests. His admiral took Tripoli, Tunis, Corfu, and Corinth. The manufactory of silk, transported from Greece into Sicily at this time, long maintained the memory of Roger's triumphs. The learned Moslem of Palermo found a bountiful patron in their Christian master, who adopted their national usages of the harem and the guard of eunuchs, weaknesses in the Sicilian sovereigns which were as yet tenderly treated by Rome. The cathedral of Cefalu and the Martorana church were now built; but the great monument of Roger is the Royal chapel at Palermo, finished in 1142, and adorned with inscriptions in Greek, Arabic, and Latin, as if to represent the political changes in the history of the island. Its first King died in 1154.

His son William, surnamed the Bad, inherited a contest with the Pope and the two Cæsars. Manuel, the last Emperor who entertained serious designs of

HAP. reannexing Italy to the Byzantine throne, sent his
I. generals to overrun Apulia and Calabria, and thus to
1194. avenge the late exploits of the Sicilian admiral in
the Bosphorus. But the Norman King, as brave in
war as he was slothful in peace, speedily retook these
provinces, besieged the Pope in Benevento, and wrung
from the Holy Father a gift of three banners, which
stood for Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria. William
fortified his claims still further by professing himself
the vassal of Manuel. He returned to spend the re-
mainder of his short reign at Palermo in debaucheries
and cruelties, and was succeeded by his son, William
the Good, in 1166. The Sicilians in later times
looked back to the rule of this admirable prince, just
as our oppressed fathers talked of the good laws of
Edward the Confessor. William wedded one of the
daughters of our first Plantagenet, after having re-
jected the advances of the Cæsars. The country was
at peace within itself, and prospered accordingly.
The arts flourished throughout the realm under Nor-
man patronage; Troja, Trani, Bari, and Bitonto pre-
served the traditions of Greek architecture; while
Palermo and its neighbourhood inclined to Saracen
decorations. There was no need to import into Sicily
builders from Rouen or Caen. The great work of
William the Good is the cathedral of Monreale,
where he and his father lie buried; the Scriptural
history, there set forth in mosaic, is unrivalled by
anything at Rome or Venice. The cathedral of
Palermo is due to Archbishop Ofamilio; it must
have appeared as the rival of the huge Alcazar in
the west of the city, built with enormous stones of
cunning workmanship. No wonder that Falcandus

^{IAP.}
I.
-1194. his Suabian kindred slain by the Normans at Civitella.
But while Sicily and Southern Italy, appalled by the prophecies of the Calabrian Abbot Joachim, are awaiting the approach of the Northern conqueror, we end this rapid sketch, which has embraced eight hundred years, and we turn to the land whence that conqueror came.

CHAPTER II.

GERMANY AND NORTHERN ITALY—THE EMPIRE.

A.D. 400 — A.D. 1137.

"Romani gloria regni
 Nos penes est; quemcunque sibi Germania regem
 Præficit, hunc dives submisso vertice Roma
 Accipit et verso Tiberim regit ordine Rhenus."

Gunther Ligurinus.

IT is well known how the old worn-out Roman Empire received fresh life-blood into its decaying frame about the year 400. Various bands of hardy Germans crossed the Rhine and the Danube; and in the course of a century we find the Ostrogoths settled in Italy, the Visigoths in Spain, the Burgundians in Gaul, and the Vandals in Africa. All these conquerors were Arians, and were therefore hated by their orthodox subjects. But towards the end of the century, the most important conversion to Christianity, since that of Constantine, was effected. Clovis, the chief of the warlike Franks, embraced the true faith of Athanasius; and the old Gaulish Christians, eager to be rid of their Arian masters, aided him to the utmost of their power in achieving the conquest of their country. He, and his children after him, seated at Paris, ruled not only the Roman province, but also the old cradle of the Germanic race, on the other side of the Rhine. While the orthodox Clovis

CHAP.
II.

400-1137.

HAP. II. 0-1137. was thus establishing the kingdom of the Franks to the north of the Alps, Theodoric the Ostrogoth was master of Italy, whence the last Roman emperor had vanished. Happy had it been for that ill-fated land, if this wise and vigorous German had bequeathed to his successors a Kingdom of Italy, compact and united, behind its Alpine rampart. But this was not to be; Theodoric's Arian creed was a fatal bar to the establishment of an Ostrogothic crown. Within one generation after his death, his monarchy was annihilated by the arms of Belisarius and Narses. The forces of the Roman empire had in their turn to make way for the Lombards under Alboin, a fresh importation from Germany. The state of Western Europe about the year 600 was this: the Visigoths held Spain; the Saxons were seated in Britain; the Lombards ruled Italy; and the Franks were masters of Gaul. These last had one great advantage over their kindred tribes, since the rulers of Paris kept up their communications with Germany, and could thus draw fresh life-blood from the original source, whenever they chose.

The race of Clovis very speedily degenerated, and its power in reality, though as yet not in name, passed into the more vigorous hands of Pepin l'Heristal and his sons, men who were thorough Germans. Happy was it for Europe that the Saracens, when they crossed the Pyrenees after trampling down the Visigothic monarchy, found no sluggard king opposed to them. Charles Martel gained his great victory over the Paynim mainly by the valour of the Germans, whom he called across the Rhine to his aid, and whom he rewarded with rich lands in the country they had saved. Pepin, the son of Charles,

found a new power springing up in Europe, that of the Popes. He made use of their decrees to sanction his usurpation of the Frankish throne, and in his turn rendered the Church good service by setting bounds to the power of the Lombard kings in Italy, and by rescuing Rome from their aggressions. He and his house also proved their devotion to the Holy See by promoting the spread of Christianity among the hitherto neglected tribes to the east of the Rhine. Celtic and Saxon missionaries were now waging war against heathenism, and the English Boniface became the apostle of Germany and the first archbishop of Mayence. Under these auspices Christianity and civilization advanced eastward hand in hand. Many new sees were founded in Southern Germany, and the clergy were earnest in enforcing obedience to the Carolingian sovereigns, whose piety had saved the tottering Church both in Italy and Germany. We now come to the greatest name in the middle ages, that of Charlemagne, who may be called the father of modern Europe, and the restorer of the old Roman Empire, which gained a fresh lease of a thousand years, after he had transferred its honours to his native Germany. He carried his arms to the Ebro, to the Raab, to the Elbe, and to the Tiber. He uprooted the heathenism of the Saxons, after pouring out their blood like water, and leaving them to choose between the axe of the headsman and the font of the priest; he confronted the Saracens in Spain; he swept away the Lombard kings, thus laying the foundation of that connexion between Germany and Italy, of which we feel the baleful effects to this day. He marched forth to encounter his enemies in their own head-quarters, instead of awaiting their onset

CHAP.
II.

400-1137.

HAP. on the Loire, as his grandfather had done. The
II. noble old German fixed his abode at Aix-la-Chapelle,
9-1137. almost on the boundary-line between the Teutonic
and Romance tongues; thence he sent forth his
Counts, in his time no hereditary vassals, to govern
his many provinces. But the master-workman died,
and his building soon crumbled to pieces. After the
great battle of Fontenay, fought between his grand-
sons in 843, Germany and France separated, and
after 888 these countries became disunited for ever.
The decrepid Carolingians ruled at Paris, soon to be
replaced by the more national dynasty of Hugh
Capet; while Germany entrusted her crown to
elective monarchs. The Scheldt, the Meuse, the
Saône, and the Rhone, formed the boundary between
France and the Empire; Italy was for the present
left to herself.

Western Europe was now undergoing the most
cruel sufferings it had ever known. It was attacked
at one and the same time by three ruthless enemies
from three different quarters, by the Scandinavians
from the North, by the Saracens from the South, and
by the still more terrible Hungarians, a newly-arrived
Tartar tribe, from the East. These last took Germany
for their own peculiar prey; they established them-
selves on the Danube and Theiss, where their de-
scendants still dwell. The Hungarians pushed their
inroads as far as Benevento and Bourdeaux, sweep-
ing away thousands of captives. Meanwhile the
Northmen were ravaging France and the British isles,
and the Saracens, who had long before conquered
Spain, were masters of Sicily, and threatened the
whole of the Italian coast. The tribes which over-
threw the old Roman empire were mostly under the

influence of Christianity, but the hordes of whom we now speak were either Pagans or Moslem. It seemed as though the civilization planted by Charlemagne and his fathers would soon disappear; but deliverance was at hand. Germany, now on the brink of ruin, found able champions in the noble house of Saxony, which held the sceptre during the Tenth century. They subdued Lorraine and Bohemia, but their greatest service was performed against the savage Hungarians. Henry the Fowler overthrew these marauders in the battle of Merseburg, the first great national victory of Germany since the days of Arminius. Otho the Great, the second of the Saxon line, conquered the Slavonians of the North, attacked the Danes in their own land, cleared Germany for ever of the wolfish Hungarians, and crossing the Alps, settled the affairs of Northern Italy at his pleasure. He placed on his own head the crown of Charlemagne, and regulated the Church, which stood much in need of his correcting hand; for this age is the very midnight of Christianity, when the Popes themselves set an example of depravity and cruelty never equalled by their successors, unless we except the period just at the eve of the Reformation. Otho thus reestablished the connexion between Germany and Italy, the fruitful source of future woes. Henceforth it was an acknowledged rule, that Upper Italy should obey a sovereign elected by strangers in a strange land. 'The order of things is changed,' cries a keen-sighted poet, 'it is now the Rhine that rules the Tiber.' Thus passed away all chance of founding a national kingdom in Italy, such as Theodoric would have established; henceforth her history, with a few bright intervals, is the

AP. record of her struggles against her German master.
 I. — Europe has long been disturbed by the bickerings of
 1137. this ill-assorted pair, and has not yet altogether succeeded in divorcing them. In all ages it has been the same; on the one side we see the brave, uncouth German, looking down with scorn upon his victim; on the other side is the wily and polished Italian, whose craft in policy is greater than his skill in arms. The struggle is constantly going on; Arminius against Augustus, Alaric against Honorius, Otho against Berengar, Henry against Hildebrand, Hohenstaufen against Conti, Kaiser against Pope, Luther against Leo. For it is the same in things spiritual as in things temporal; three hundred years ago it was Augsburg against Rome, just as now it is Vienna against Turin.

Otho, the new master of Italy, seemed to be another Charlemagne. Poles, Bohemians, Hungarians, Danes, and Saracens, sent humble embassies to his throne. He bequeathed his Empire to his scarcely less powerful descendants, who besieged Paris, penetrated into Calabria, and raised the most learned man of the dark ages to St. Peter's chair. The Tenth may be called the Saxon century; the Eleventh was that of the Franconian line. Conrad the Salic, the first of this noble race, having gained the crown by due election, established the feudal system on a secure basis by his well-known edict; he strove to depress the great princes by raising the power of the lesser nobles, and by making the possessions of these latter hereditary. About this time, shortly after A.D. 1000, we hear of one Azzo, an Italian by birth, who established his son in Germany. We must look upon this stranger with all respect: he is

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Christendom to acknowledge his sway, and thus substituted despotism for aristocracy in Church matters. He set his face against simony. But his great achievement was yet to come. He knew that a theocracy, a kingdom within a kingdom, could only be founded by establishing what may be called a clerical caste. This he achieved by means of a system widely differing from that of the old priestly despotisms of India, Egypt, and Gaul. For Hildebrand forced the clergy to lead single lives, cut them off from all human sympathies, and thus caused them to look to Rome as their one sole point of interest. This great change, however, which had long been foreshadowed, was not thoroughly effected until about two hundred years after it had been for the first time earnestly enforced. Thus the priestly power made rapid strides, just as a wide door was thrown open for the depravation of clerical morality. Hildebrand next stirred up the great dispute of investitures. According to him, the churchman was responsible to the Pope alone; it was therefore not to be borne that any servant of God should receive the ring and crosier from the Emperor, a man of blood. Now began the struggle between the Papacy and the Empire, between two parties which long afterwards took the names of Guelfs and Ghibellines; but, as usually happens, the reality of antagonism was felt long before the party names were bestowed. The Pope, as was always the case, availed himself of the aid of rebels in Germany to beat down the Emperor's authority. Whenever Germany was at variance with herself, the Papal power made its greatest progress. Now it was that the degenerate representative of Charlemagne and Otho underwent

the unheard-of humiliation at Canossa. This was of no avail ; for a rival Emperor was set up against him. Hildebrand himself died an exile, as has been before mentioned, and a hundred and twenty years must pass before we find any Pope that will bear comparison with him. His immediate successors were not ashamed to rouse the heir apparent to rebellion against Henry IV., who died an excommunicated man. In this rebellious son, first the ally and then the tyrant of Rome, the old Franconian line came to an end. A few years more bring us to A.D. 1137, when a new House was about to be raised by election to the throne of the Empire.

Germany was all this time enlarging her borders towards the East. We have seen how Christianity and civilization advanced from the Rhine to the Elbe ; they were now pushing forward from the Elbe to the Oder. The Altmark, the Mittelmark, and the Neumark, names which still keep their places on our maps, point out the slow but sure steps with which Germany strode on, trampling down the barbarous Slavonic tribes in her march. Further to the South, Austria, the Eastern kingdom, and the Styrian mark, became barriers against any renewed onset of the Hungarians. From this epoch, the middle of the Twelfth century, Vienna, Berlin, and Munich date their origin. Germany was an elective monarchy. This bad system was doubtless the fruit of the disgust with which she had viewed the degenerate successors of her first Emperor. She thought to guard herself against a repetition of this weak dominion by making her crown elective. The father might be a Charlemagne or an Otho ; the son might be a Charles the Bald or a Charles the Fat. She purchased her

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freedom from a possible line of bad sovereigns at the price of fearful civil wars, often prolonged from generation to generation, events which the Popes did not fail to turn to their own profit. This was also the case in the old Polish monarchy; but Germany had one advantage over her neighbour; her population was made up of something more than haughty nobles and abject serfs; she possessed, thanks to the wise foresight of her early emperors, a middle class, the pith and marrow of a nation, without which no kingdom can count upon a long existence. England owes the preservation of her liberties to her towns; France found in her burghers the main obstacle to feudal tyranny; in Castile, the cities alone fought for the old constitution, when it was on the eve of disappearance. On the other hand, Poland and Hungary can scarcely boast ten cities worthy of the name, and both these heroic countries have been forced to sink their political existence in that of other nations. Germany, happily for herself, abounded with free cities, which it was the interest of the emperors to foster as a counterpoise to the turbulence of the princes and counts. Charlemagne had planted the chairs of bishops among the Saxons, and towns quickly started up around the relics of the saints enshrined in the cathedrals and abbeys. Henry the Fowler saw that Germany needed bulwarks against her Hungarian enemies; he accordingly enjoined every ninth man of those who owed the crown military service to remove into one of the cities newly built in Saxony and Thuringia. He established fairs to encourage trade, and overcame the dislike of the forest-loving Germans to a town life. Besides the burghs built in the middle ages, there were the ancient cities of the Rhine, dating from the time of the Romans, nearly

all of which are mentioned by Tacitus in his account of the rebellion of Civilis. The chief of these was Trèves, the oldest city in Germany, which still preserves in its ruined baths, amphitheatre, gateway, and bridge, so many relics of its Roman greatness. Mayence had been the camp of Drusus; her archbishop was the Primate of Germany, endowed with vast political power. Cologne, the great station of the regions, became afterwards the most thriving city in Northern Europe, and can still show many churches dating from the Eleventh century; it is in truth a museum of Christian art. These three cities were the sees of powerful prelates, the spiritual leaders of Germany, who were usually as much at home in the saddle as in the pulpit. Worms, the seat of many diets of the Empire, was the classic land of the Minnesingers, and the scene of the Nibelungen legend. Spire, famous for its loyalty to the unhappy Henry IV., contains the great monument of Conrad the Salic, the cathedral where many of the emperors lie in dishonoured graves. Frankfort was the city whither the future emperor repaired for his election, and where he met the spiritual and temporal princes who had the right of voting. He was afterwards crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, the burial-place of Charlemagne. All these free cities, except four, have now lost their rights; but their work has been well done; they abated the hardships of feudalism, threw open their privileges to the oppressed serfs, and held in check the robber-knights. When, long afterwards, the Reformation came, it was defied by the bishops, it was used by the princes for their own selfish ends, but it found a hearty welcome in the free cities of Germany.

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But these, manifold as were their services to mankind, never equalled the development of the great cities scattered throughout Upper Italy. The whole of this tract belonged, at least in name, to the Empire; it had not as yet been portioned out between the House of Savoy, the merchant princes of Florence and Venice, and the Bishops of Rome. It has a history of its own; feudalism never attained the same growth in Upper Italy, that it did in almost every other European country. Here and there indeed, as in the Trevisan March and Piedmont, we find a few nobles enjoying rights over large domains; but in general the Italian city would not brook a feudal neighbour. The castles were either destroyed or became the property of the towns; and the knights, dislodged from their strongholds, were fain to take up their abode within the walls of their conquerors.* The burghers sallied forth to battle under the leadership of a Podesta. This officer was usually elected for a year, and was almost invariably a stranger; a policy rendered necessary by the factions that raged in each city. The Popes found it their interest to heap favours upon these commonwealths, just as the Emperors were led to foster the cities of Germany. Thus the history of Northern Italy, unlike that of any other modern country, is the history

* Salimbene, who saw King Louis pass through Sens on his way to the Crusade in 1248, was struck by the contrast between the customs of France and Italy. 'I wondered, when I remembered that the Senones captured Rome under Brennus, seeing their women now for the most part look like housemaids. If the King had been passing through Pisa or Bologna, the flower of the ladies would have come to meet him. Then I recollected the French usage; for in France the burghers alone live in the cities, while the knights and noble ladies live on their estates.'

of various towns. We naturally turn with the greatest interest to Rome. She was regarded with twofold reverence, as being at once the capital of Augustus and the See of St. Peter. Her lot, strangely enough, has been to rule mankind in two separate ages, first with the imperial sceptre, and afterwards with the priestly crosier. She drew countless myriads from all Christendom to worship at the shrines of the Apostles, and these pilgrims must have taken back with them marvellous tales of the monuments still to be seen, which amply proved the bygone greatness of Rome. It was there that Charlemagne had received the crown of the revived Western Empire at the hands of Pope Leo. Hence it became the customary ceremony, that the ruler of Germany, after having been elected at Frankfort and crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, must still repair to Rome for the Papal blessing, before he could be properly styled Emperor, Cæsar, or, as his northern subjects called it, Kaiser. The Emperor elect must of course be attended by an army, greater or less, in his passage through Italy to his coronation. We may imagine the broils which arose, whenever the German soldiery, the lords of the world according to the system established by Charlemagne, were brought face to face with their despised Italian subjects. The men of the North were probably at no pains to restrain themselves from rapine and bloodshed, as they straggled through Lombardy and Tuscany after their chief. Sometimes a Roman patriot was beheaded; once the Emperor was blockaded for three days in his own palace, and after his death the Germans could scarcely prevent the Italians from laying hands on his corpse; on another occasion the great city of Pavia, where the

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iron crown of Lombardy was kept, was burnt by the Transalpines. The Emperor, if displeased with the ruler of the Church, would often set up an anti-Pope; Henry V. imprisoned the Pope and Cardinals for two months, because they would not crown him on his own terms. The Roman people, headed by their Senator, were often more than a match for the spiritual powers; and such men as Arnold, Brancalone, Rienzi, and Porcaro, reappeared in each century, as a matter of course. Milan stood next to Rome in rank. She was renowned for the numbers and talents of her clergy, and for the peculiar ritual of her church, which has lasted down to our own age. In no city did the question of clerical celibacy arouse greater contentions. The Archbishops of Milan, from the time of St. Ambrose, have exercised vast influence over the fate of Italy. Of these the most famous was Eribert, the inventor of the Carroccio, used by the Italian cities as a rallying-point in battle; it was a huge waggon surmounted by a mast with a banner and cross. Venice had not as yet attained all the glory that was to fall to her share; but even at this date, 1137, Dandolo was alive, and the Crusades, from which this city almost alone reaped any profit, were being carried on. She wisely gave her attention to the Eastern traffic, and as a general rule abstained from meddling in the quarrels of Italy. Her great church of St. Mark, where the styles of the East and West seem to meet, was already in being. Pisa was at this time in all her glory; she had waged a gallant war against the Saracens in Sicily and Sardinia; and her noble buildings remain to prove what this city, now decayed, must have been in the middle ages. Genoa was the third of

CHAPTER III.

THE HOUSE OF HOHENSTAUFEN.

A.D. 1030 — A.D. 1197.

"Longosque per annos
Stat fortuna Domûs, et avi numerantur avorum."

VIRGIL.

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IN Suabia, not far from Stuttgard, may be seen the ruins of an old castle, perched upon a conical hill called the Staufen. This fortress was the cradle, or, as the Germans say, the stem-house, of the noble family whose fortunes we are now about to follow. We willingly pass over the improbable fables and pedigrees, with which every great house loves to adorn its origin, and we come at once to the first of the race known to history, Frederick von Buren, who took his name, according to the custom of the age, from the hamlet that acknowledged him as its lord. He must have been born somewhere about the year 1030, just at the time when the rival house of Guelf took root in Germany. This knight begat a son, also called Frederick (the name re-appears in each generation of the family), the founder of the greatness of his line. The youth was a faithful follower of that unhappy Emperor, Henry IV., who, finding in the Suabian knight, although a new man, more loyalty than in the old princely houses of

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some period of his life under the Papal ban—a fact which gives some idea of the length of time that the struggle between the spiritual and temporal heads of Christendom was maintained. In the very year of his election he began to deal harshly with the Hohenstaufens, and to inquire into the title-deeds by which they held their duchies. He gave his only daughter to their enemy, Henry the Proud, the son of the deceased Henry the Black; and the bridegroom received the duchy of Saxony in addition to his old domain of Bavaria. Being employed by the Emperor to combat the Duke of Suabia, he set fire to an abbey, into which he had decoyed his generous rival; this treacherous attempt, however, failed. The Suabian party set up Conrad, the younger of the two Hohenstaufens, as King in opposition to Lothaire, and had their champion crowned at Milan, in spite of the thunders of the Church. Conrad was soon driven back into Germany: Spires for a long time held out for him, since he was the representative of her beloved Franconian benefactors; and peace was made in 1135 by the aid of St. Bernard and the Pope. The Hohenstaufen Dukes swore allegiance to Lothaire, and Germany enjoyed rest for the first time for half a century.

Duke Frederick, surnamed the One-eyed, possessed not only Suabia but Alsace, which latter province probably belonged to his father. In it, as the saying went, lay the whole strength of the Empire. Its fruitful plains, washed by the Rhine, were guarded by a chain of castles, of which the Duke was an indefatigable builder; indeed it was said of him that he always trailed a fortress at the tail of his horse. He it was who began the con-

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surrender after the battle; but King Conrad was prevailed on by the women of the town to allow them free egress with as much of their property as they could carry on their shoulders. He was presently astonished to see them come forth, each bearing her husband. 'A king's word ought not to be wrested or explained away,' said Conrad, on seeing the anger of his brother Frederick at being thus tricked; the women were even allowed to remove their clothes and valuables. In 1142, the King at last put an end to all the feuds among the German princes. He gave the duchy of Saxony to young Henry the Lion, and pacified Albert the Bear, who had held a grant of part of the forfeited Guelf inheritance, by other donations.

Italy had long demanded Conrad's presence; but he was summoned elsewhere. Edessa, a kingdom beyond the Euphrates, was torn from the Christians by the Moslem; the Second Crusade was the answer to this aggression. St. Bernard exhorted the Germans to leave their civil wars, and to hasten to the Holy Land. After rescuing the Jews from their Christian persecutors, the mobs of the Rhineland towns, he overpowered the resistance of King Conrad, who was most unwilling to start for the East. The head of Germany was at last prevailed on to march; he took with him his nephew and successor Frederick, who was making the journey for the first, but not for the last time. Early in 1147 the German host began to pour through Hungary; the soldiers were robbed and maltreated by the Greeks, though not with impunity. After admiring the strength of the walls of Constantinople, the Crusaders were ferried across the Bosphorus, and took

the straight road through Asia Minor to Iconium. Cheated, starved, and misled at every step of the way by their Greek friends, and harassed beyond endurance by their Turkish enemies, they were glad to retreat, after losing no less than 63,000 men. Conrad made another unsuccessful attempt early in 1148. He joined King Louis of France at Jerusalem, who also had left the flower of his chivalry behind him in Asia Minor. The siege of Damascus was undertaken, but in vain. The German sovereign displayed the greatest valour, and one of his vigorous blows is still renowned in the ballads of his country as the Suabian stroke. Conrad left Palestine, and went home by way of Greece. He died in 1152; although unsuccessful as a general, he is free from the taint of cruelty, which after his time reappear again and again in each generation of the Hohenstaufens.

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The next monarch, Frederick I., better known by his Italian surname Barbarossa, is one of the national glories of the Fatherland. He, the son of the one-eyed Duke of Suabia, is equally renowned as a Crusader, as an upholder of order in Germany, and as an opponent of the Popes and their Italian allies. Succeeding his uncle Conrad, he professed to take Charlemagne as his model; he seemed born to heal the feuds of his country, being a Hohenstaufen on his father's side, and belonging to the Guelfs through his mother. He treated his young cousin, Henry the Lion, with the greatest tenderness, and behaved to him with even imprudent generosity. But Frederick's attention was soon called to the future theatre of his exploits. In the year after his coronation, two men of Lodi appeared at the Diet,

AP. threw themselves at his feet, and appealed to his
I. — justice against their Milanese tyrants. After having
1197. had recourse in vain to mild measures, he crossed
the Brenner for the first time at the head of a
German army. He found Northern Italy in a state
of the wildest anarchy. The great cities, such as
Milan and Rome, were loud enough in their praise
of freedom; but by this, to judge by their practice,
they meant the power of tyrannizing over their
weaker neighbours. Thus it was in the days of old
Greece, the very type of mediæval Italy; each state,
as it rose to power, abused its strength, until all
alike had in the end to bow before the Man of the
North, who reappeared in the person of Barbarossa
and many another German Emperor.

After holding a diet at Roncaglia, Frederick
marched to Turin, in spite of the opposition offered
by the Milanese. He next sat down before Tortona,
which defied him for two months. Henry the Lion,
Berthold of Zähringen, and Otho of Wittelsbach,
especially distinguished themselves in the siege. No
relief came from Milan to the starving garrison, who
at length surrendered, and saw their town pillaged
and razed to the ground by the Germans. The
conqueror was crowned at Pavia, the most loyal city
in Italy, and then marched over the Apennines, on
his way to Rome, for the still greater ceremony.
The capital had been thrown into confusion for the
last fifteen years by the preaching of Arnold of
Brescia, one of those reformers who every now and
then started up in the middle ages. St. Bernard
himself had been unable to silence the bold heretic,
'the shield-bearer of that Goliath, Abelard.' Arnold's
reforms were chiefly of a political nature; he wished

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homes. After escaping the snares laid for him by the Veronese, and after being delivered by the valor of Otho of Wittelsbach from a great danger in the Southern Tyrol, Barbarossa recrossed the Alps.

His first care, on reaching Germany, was to hold a Diet at Worms, to punish the disturbers of peace, and to dismantle the castles of the robber-knights. His cousin, Henry the Lion, who was already Duke of Saxony, received the Duchy of Bavaria from the Emperor, a kindness of which the benefactor had afterwards cause to repent. Frederick had been unhappy in his first marriage; he now, in defiance of Rome, wedded Beatrice, the fair heiress of the Kingdom of Burgundy, who bore him a fine family of sons of the true Suabian breed. He kept all his neighbours in due subjection; he made an expedition against Poland, and forced King Boleslaus to sue for peace, to pay a heavy ransom, and to do obeisance to the feudal lord of the land. King Geisa of Hungary avowed himself the Kaiser's liegeman, as the King of Denmark had done five years before. Frederick promoted Duke Wladislaus of Bohemia to the rank of King. In those days, as we see, Germany was of some account in Europe: she was united under one head, and made her power felt on all sides. 'Germany,' said Raynald the chancellor, 'has an Emperor; the rest of Europe has but petty kinglets.' The latter term, indeed, can scarcely be applied to our Henry II., who at this time sent presents to Barbarossa; but Louis VII. of France was altogether thrown into the shade by his German rival, who held diets at Besançon. This Emperor might have seemed to superficial observers the most powerful of the successors of

Charlemagne. But his weak point lay in Italy, where the Popes, his implacable enemies, strong in the support of their Norman neighbours, worked against him, and thus upheld the balance of power in Europe.

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Two Papal Legates appeared at the Diet of Besançon with complaints on the part of Pope Adrian. Roland, one of these envoys, in the course of debate, used the rash expression, 'From whom does the King hold his power, unless from the Pope?' At these words, Otho of Wittelsbach sprang up, and could scarcely be prevented by the Emperor himself from slaying the bold speaker on the spot. The German prelates, headed by Raynald the Chancellor of the Empire, disclaimed the base notion that their Kaiser held his crown from any one except from the spiritual and temporal Electors of Germany; and the Pope, seeing their temper, hastened to explain away his words. In the mean time, the Milanese had been restoring the walls of Tortona, and had destroyed Lodi, a town ever faithful to the Emperor. He, therefore, thought it right to undertake his second expedition into Italy, after a sojourn of three years in Germany. He first sent forward Raynald and Otho, the two main props of his Empire, to prepare his way. His army crossed the Alps by four different passes, and was then joined by many of his Italian vassals. The Bohemian allies distinguished themselves at the passage of the Adda; and the Milanese, after a success gained over the German vanguard, retired to their city. Barbarossa began the siege at the head of a host of 100,000 foot and 15,000 horse, with which he ravaged Lombardy; a month passed before the Milanese, tamed by famine,

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sued for peace. It was granted, upon the payment of a heavy ransom, the delivery of several hostages, and the swearing of an oath of allegiance. The nobles came forth with swords hanging from their necks, the common people with halters round their throats; Barbarossa condescended to give them the kiss of peace after they had fallen at his feet and acknowledged their guilt.

He was now crowned King of Italy at Monza, and held another Diet at Roncaglia, after having encamped his German and Italian subjects on either bank of the Po. Four doctors of the University of Bologna, the most learned men of their age, laid down the law, as to the old customs of the Empire. According to them, the Emperor had the right of appointing Podestas and Consuls in the cities, and might claim certain specified revenues; private wars were put down; and the regulations were sworn to by all alike. Frederick was at the height of his power; even distant Genoa had submitted to pay him a heavy fine. Pope Adrian wrote to his enemy, counselling humility; but Frederick, who suspected his Holiness of underhand dealings with the Lombards and with the kings of Sicily, replied that the Popes owed all their greatness to his own predecessor Constantine. The contested claim to the bequest of the Countess Matilda was once more in full agitation, and Adrian averred that the Pope was raised above the German King, as much as Rome was above Aix-la-Chapelle; the title of Emperor, it was added, was a free gift from the Pope. The smouldering fire soon blazed forth. In 1159, the Milanese, zealous for their old rights, assaulted three of Barbarossa's deputies, who had come to carry out the provisions

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and Franconian emperors. Milan declared boldly for Alexander, who had excommunicated her tyrant; the Council of Pavia, which was well attended, pronounced for Victor; each of the rivals sent forth his envoys into all Christian realms. Barbarossa, who had dismissed his German vassals for a year, was surprised at Carcano and almost taken prisoner; but he afterwards defeated the Milanese, although his army was now composed of none but his Italian vassals. On the return of the Germans, in 1161, Milan was once more strictly blockaded. Every man caught in the act of bringing provisions into the city was mutilated by order of the Emperor, who swore that he would not stir until it was taken. It surrendered early in 1162; the burghers came forth with cords round their necks, ashes on their heads, and crosses in their hands. They defiled before their conqueror, and laid their banners at his feet; their far-famed Carroccio was hewn in pieces. All, even the Germans themselves, wept; the Emperor alone moved not a muscle. The fate of Milan was decided at Pavia; the great city had to undergo the same doom that she had herself inflicted upon Como and Lodi. Her Lombard enemies insisted upon her demolition. Barbarossa returned and entered Milan through a breach made in her walls, which were then razed to the ground, according to the terms of the sentence. Some of the churches were spared; but all the Milanese were driven from their homes, as their conqueror thought, for ever. He feasted his allies at Pavia, in honour of his great achievement; and forced the boldest cities in Italy, such as Brescia and Bologna, to give hostages and pay tribute. Already he was parcelling out the fiefs of Sicily

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Count of Provence, came to wreak his vengeance upon Mayence. Three years before this time, the burghers had plotted against Arnold their Archbishop, had set fire to a tower where he was hiding and had then torn him to pieces. An inquiry was prosecuted; many monks, knowing themselves to be accomplices in the murder, threw themselves out of a window; and several of the citizens were sentenced to death or to various fines. Barbarossa ordered the walls of Mayence to be razed and the trenches to be filled up. The greatest cities both of Germany and of Italy had felt his power, which was still feared alike at home and abroad.

After disposing of Silesia according to his pleasure, he for the third time entered Italy, which was in a state of sullen discontent. The heavy yoke of the Emperor forced men to turn their eyes to the Pope, who was assembling a great council at Tours, and causing the kings of France and England to hold his stirrups. His prospects brightened when the anti-Pope Victor died, in 1164. A fresh anti-Pope was chosen, who took the name of Paschal, and whose election—a piece of wanton folly—sent over to Alexander's side many of the Emperor's old partisans. This fact marks the turn of the tide; Barbarossa was slowly losing ground; his harsh deputies were insulted or slain; Venice declared against him and there was no German army at hand to put down the malcontents. Raynald the Chancellor was unable to keep peace between Pisa and Genoa. The former city was forced to give up Sardinia by the Emperor, who sold it to a king of his own choosing. Indeed, Frederick made many mistakes during this unlucky year 1164, and hurried back into German

to procure fresh levies. At this moment, Henry of England was in the midst of his contest with Becket, and was enacting the constitutions of Clarendon, which Pope Alexander opposed. Barbarossa thought the time favourable to bring over England to his side; he accordingly sent his trusty Raynald, who proposed that King Henry should give two of the English princesses to the heirs of Guelf and Hohenstaufen. In return, English envoys appeared at the Diet of Wurzburg, convoked to withstand the claims of Alexander. The Kaiser, in 1165, visited Aix-la-Chapelle, where his creature Paschal enrolled Charlemagne among the saints.

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The rightful shepherd, who had many followers even in Germany, now took courage to return to Rome; the citizens, weary of the German yoke, hailed him with transports of joy; and the King of Sicily was not backward in support of the priestly champion of Italy. Barbarossa also marched across the Alps, for the fourth time, with a noble array; but he was now at length to learn that there was a power higher than himself. All Lombardy was groaning under the tyranny of his deputies, whom he allowed to carry on the government as they chose, to build castles by the enforced labour of their subjects, and to rob the Italians of their lands. The oppressed cities began to draw together, and to make ready for a stand. Early in the year 1167, although there was a strong army of Germans in Italy, the famous Lombard League was formed. The Milanese returned to their former home; and, like the Athenians of old after the flight of Xerxes, they began to rebuild their dismantled walls. Tortona imitated Milan; Lodi was overpowered by the confederates;

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and the ramparts of Ancona kept the Emperor at bay. Meanwhile the two great German Archbishops, Christian of Mayence and Raynald of Cologne, had marched through Tuscany, and had cut to pieces the disorderly Roman mob in a pitched battle. Frederick united all his forces before Rome, and forced his way into the city, after setting fire to the porch of St. Peter's. Pope Alexander fled to Benevento, leaving the field open to his rival Paschal, who thereupon crowned the Emperor and Empress.

A hundred years before this time, St. Peter Damiani had thus sung : ' Rome tames the proud necks of men ; her crop consists of the fruits of death ; the fevers of Rome by a sure law are ever loyal to the Church.' It was now the month of August ; the poisonous air of the Campagna began to tell upon the stout German soldiery ; within eight days the best part of the army fell victims to the plague. Among the deceased were many bishops and counts, Frederick's cousin the young Duke of Suabia, besides one of the Guelfs, and above all, Raynald the Chancellor, the Archbishop of Cologne. Every one cried out that these disasters were a judgment from God on account of the burnt porch of St. Peter's. Two thousand men died in the short space between Rome and Viterbo ; the Emperor could scarcely gain Pavia, since the Apennine passes were held by the rebels. By this time almost every city between Venice, Milan, and Bologna had joined the Lombard League, and was up in arms. Frederick escaped by way of Susa, thanks to the timely aid of Humbert, Count of Maurienne. On the way, the baffled monarch hanged some of the Italian hostages in his hands ; their friends plotted his death, and would

re succeeded in their murderous attempt, had not Hermann of Siebeneichen placed himself as a willing victim in the Emperor's bed, and so given his master time to escape in the night. Thus Italy was lost; and the German Sennacherib (the comparison is Becket's) after having seen his army melt away like snow, slunk back into his own land almost alone.

He dwelt in Germany for nearly seven years after this staggering blow, and there employed himself in making provision for his five sons. He had the eldest, Henry, crowned King of the Romans at Aachen-la-Chapelle by Philip, the new Archbishop of Cologne. A third anti-Pope was set up after Schism's death, and was called Calixtus. These seven years were turned to good account by the Lombards, who overcame the Piedmontese nobles, and built a new city, which they named Alessandria after the Pope, the patron of their League. King Henry had withdrawn from the side of the Emperor after Becket's death, and aided the struggling states

Italy with English gold. Christian, the Archbishop of Mayence, who wielded his club with great effect in the day of battle, was acting as the Imperial Legate in Italy. He besieged Ancona in 1174, while the Venetians blockaded it by sea. The city resolved never to undergo the fate of Milan, and kept its assailants at bay, until they gave up the siege in despair; its garrison was reduced to eat the vilest substances, before the enemy lifted the walls. But a fresh danger threatened Italy from the North-west. Her great enemy crossed the Alps for the fifth time, leading his army over Mont Cenis. He burnt Susa, and then laid siege to Alessandria. This bulwark had been

CHAP. thrown up so hastily, that it had been nicknamed
III. by the Imperial party *Alessandria della Paglia*.
1030-1197. But the town of straw turned out to be a more
substantial fact, as Barbarossa found to his cost.
He blockaded it in vain for six months, and sentenced to the loss of their eyes all who attempted to bring in provisions to the garrison. One knight when made prisoner, told the Emperor, in the true spirit of feudalism: 'I am not fighting against you or your Empire, but I am obeying my lord who is in the city, just as I should have obeyed him had he been in your camp. Even if you put out my eyes, I shall stand true to him.' Barbarossa dismissed the youth unharmed. Finding that *Alessandria* could not be taken either by storming or by sapping underground, he drew off his forces and agreed to a truce with the League. A heavy stroke now paralyzed him. Henry the Lion basely quitted the side of his Imperial benefactor, who in vain conjured the waverer at *Chiavenna* by the honour of Germany and by the glory of the Empire not to forsake his lord, his cousin, his friend, in the hour of need. The great Kaiser, in the agony of the moment, even stooped to fall at the Guelf's knee. 'Rise up, dear lord,' said the Empress, 'remember the past, and may God never forget it!' Though this ally was lost, the Archbishops of *Trèves*, *Cologne*, and *Magdeburg* brought a large army to Frederick's help from the North; and the Lombard League resolved to risk a battle before the warlike Archbishop of *Mayence* could come up from Central Italy and join his master. The patriots pitched their camp near *Lignano*; the banner of *St. Ambrose* was brought out, and it was hoped that the saint would prove as

stern a foe to tyranny, as when he shut the gates of his cathedral in the face of another Roman emperor. On the 29th of May, 1176, the two armies met. Everything at first went down before the German onset, but the Emperor was thrown from his horse, and his standard-bearer was slain. The false news of Frederick's death flew through his ranks, and his followers began to run; many were drowned in the Ticino, and many were taken. Lignano, a name to be ranked with Bannockburn and Morat, is a field of which Italy may well be proud; the chief whom she there overthrew was the first soldier of the age, at the head of those German warriors, who had long been taught to think themselves invincible. There is nothing like this battle in the history of Milan, until we come down to her Five Days in 1848. The long interval is almost wholly filled up with the gloomy sway of Visconti, Sforzas, and Hapsburgs.

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Frederick was for some time mourned as dead; but he shortly re-appeared at Pavia. The work of peace was now set about in good earnest; Pope and Kaiser alike were eager for its return; the Germans had undergone enough from the fevers of Rome, the swords of Milan, and the treachery of their own brethren. A truce for six years was granted to the Lombards, and on the 25th of July, 1177, Frederick and Alexander met at Venice, where the Suabian knelt, and received the kiss of peace from his old enemy. Thus ended the strife which had raged in Lombardy for three and twenty years.

After making a progress through the middle of Italy, Frederick went to Arles, where he received the crown of that kingdom in 1178. He then

CHAP. hastened to take vengeance upon Henry the Lion
 III. The deserter was placed under the ban of the
 1030-1197. Empire, and his lands were shared out among the
 many enemies whom he had made by his unbearable pride. The Archbishop of Cologne and other prelates were great gainers in the distribution; a large part of the Duchy of Saxony was given to Bernard, a son of Albert the Bear. The faithful Otho of Wittelsbach, whose descendants still rule at Munich, was installed in the Duchy of Bavaria. The Lion did not give up his coveted spoils without a sharp struggle; but in 1181 Barbarossa put an end to it by taking the field himself, and was joined at Lubeck by his vassal the king of Denmark. The beaten Guelf appeared at the Diet of Erfurt, and in his turn fell at Frederick's knee. 'Thou thyself art the cause of thy misery!' cried the weeping conqueror. Sentence of banishment was pronounced upon the rebel for a period afterwards shortened at the Pope's request, but Brunswick and Luneburg were assured to Henry. In 1182, he sailed for England, his wife's country, to the throne of which his descendants were to be called after more than 500 years.

While these revolutions were convulsing Germany, Alexander, the greatest Pope of the Twelfth century, had been succeeded by Lucius III., who was forced to invoke the aid of the Archbishop of Mayence, the Emperor's lieutenant in Italy. The six years' truce with the Lombard League expired in 1183, and there was a schism among the confederates. Tortona, and even Alessandria, went over to their old enemy. But at length, a treaty of peace was made at Constance, to which the Italian states were

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Jerusalem and almost every other town in Palestine had fallen a prey to Saladin. Three generations had not elapsed since the First Crusade had been undertaken, and now its fruits were gone. The Pope died of grief; the Kaiser took the Cross in spite of his great age. He held one more Diet at Mayence, forgave the Archbishop of Cologne, caused Henry the Lion to swear to the maintenance of peace, and entrusted Germany to his own son, Henry, during his absence. Barbarossa's letter to Saladin is still extant, in which the German claims Judæa, Parthia, and Egypt as part of the old Roman Empire, alludes to the disaster of Crassus and the shame of Antony, and gives the Moslem a year to quit Palestine. Saladin prepared for a stubborn resistance. In May, 1189, the German pilgrims once more followed the course of the Danube eastward from Ratisbon to Belgrade. They were harassed by the Bulgarians, and underwent the usual annoyances from the treachery of the Greek emperor. The Kaiser was so wroth that he wrote to his son to have the fleets of the Italian states ready for an attack upon Constantinople. Early in 1190, he conveyed his men across the Bosphorus, and began his march through Asia Minor. He himself took charge of the rear, entrusted the van to his gallant son, Frederick, and placed his baggage in the centre. The Sultan of Iconium had made a treaty with the invaders; still, they found the country ravaged as they advanced, and were harassed the whole way from Laodicea by the Turkish cavalry. On the 14th of May, the Christians won a victory over the enemy, but were reduced to such straits that they were eating horseflesh, and

using their saddles for fuel. They fought another battle before Iconium, when Barbarossa himself led the charge, in spite of his seventy years, on seeing that his men despaired of the day. They found a rich booty, for they here seized upon the gold which Saladin had sent to the Turks of Asia Minor. The Germans marched on to Seleucia; the great Emperor, more fortunate now than he had been when serving under his uncle Conrad forty years before, was almost on the threshold of Syria; Saladin was trembling at the approach of so worthy an opponent. But a sad mishap overturned all the calculations of Christendom. On the 10th of June, the army was crossing the Seleph by a narrow bridge; their leader, impatient of delay, plunged into the river, although he had been warned that the tide was strong. The old man was soon overpowered by the stream, and was brought to land a lifeless corpse. We may imagine the agony of the honest Germans as they bewailed the loss of their Kaiser, their father, and their chief. He was buried at Antioch, and the remnant of his army that escaped starvation joined the other Christians at the siege of Acre. It is hard to say what results might have followed, had Frederick's life been spared for a few years. He would probably have been able to overawe the malcontents, whose bickerings caused the miscarriage of the Third Crusade. He would have appeared in their camp like the majestic King of men, and the unruly Achilles and the wily Ulysses might perhaps have suspended their quarrels, paying homage to the presence of a greater man than was either of themselves. The old Kaiser of the Red

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Beard was long mourned in Germany as the Pillar of the Empire, the Morning Star, the Strong Lion that awed savage beasts into peace. What would he say, could he come forth from his fabled prison, on beholding the present state of the Fatherland and the men that sit in his place?

His son, Henry the Sixth, was intent upon conquering the kingdom of Sicily, which had been usurped by Tancred, although Henry's wife was the rightful heiress. The new Hohenstaufen chief was crowned Emperor, at Rome, in the spring of 1191, by Pope Celestine III. He bought the good-will of the citizens by delivering up Tusculum to their cruel vengeance, upon the ruins of which town Frascati afterwards rose. He then led his army Southward, and made himself master of every place, until he was brought to a stand by the strong walls of Naples. As usual, the Italian summer proved the foe most fatal to the Northern warriors. The turbulent Archbishop of Cologne died, and so great was the mortality, that the Emperor, who had been himself a sufferer, was driven to raise the siege late in August. His wife, Constance, a lady ten years older than himself, was made prisoner by the Salernitans and sent to her rival, Tancred. Many cares awaited Henry on his return to Germany; the Church of Liege had been perplexed by a disputed election; the old Lion of Brunswick, in spite of his oath, had been breaking the peace of the Empire; and the eldest son of this Duke had given great offence by hastening home without the Kaiser's leave, while the Germans were besieging Naples. Peace, however, was restored in a few years between the Guelfs and Hohenstaufens by a marriage.

fortune continued to smile upon the house of
Sicily.

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In 1193, King Richard of England was brought before the Emperor for judgment, after having been confined in a dungeon for a year. The captive was released on payment of an enormous ransom, which furnished the means for a new onslaught on Sicily. Henry again marched Southward in 1194, upon hearing the news of Tancred's death. He secured the aid of the Genoese and Pisan ships, making promises never to be fulfilled. He reached the new kingdom in August. Naples now opened her gates. Salerno was sacked and burnt, to avenge the wrongs of the Empress Constance. The Apulian and Calabrian nobles flocked to do homage to their new lord. The only drawback to his triumphal march was the quarrelsome spirit of his maritime allies, to whom he made fresh promises at Messina. The Sicilians, seeing that the mainland had yielded, made no attempt at resistance. Tancred's queen fled, with her children, into a strong castle; but Palermo welcomed Henry to her palaces on the 1st of November. His first care was to get his vassals into his power; he enticed them from their castles by promises, and constrained the young William, Tancred's eldest son, to abjure all right to the crown of Sicily, in the cathedral of Palermo. Henry contrived to put off the demands of the Genoese with renewed promises. Christmas came; but it was kept after a strange fashion in the Sicilian capital. The Emperor laid before his council certain papers (whether genuine or forged is doubtful), according to which the whole of the Norman nobility

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had entered into a plot against their German sovereign. Peter, the Count of Celano, agreed to play the part of judge in the bloody assize that followed. Prelates and barons alike underwent the most cruel punishments. Some lost their eyes, others were tortured, hanged, burnt, or buried alive; the high admiral Margaritone, and the three sons of the deceased chancellor, were among the sufferers. No mercy was shown to any of Tancred's old partisans. The boy William was castrated and blinded; he was then sent to an Alpine dungeon, as were his mother and sisters, besides the Archbishop of Salerno. The tombs of the usurper and of his eldest son were broken open and rifled; the bodies were cast out. On the very day when these cruelties were being perpetrated, on the 26th of December, 1194, the Empress Constance gave birth to a son at Jesi, the future Emperor Frederick II.

Pope Celestine excommunicated Henry for his Sicilian atrocities; but the Hohenstaufen took little heed of the sentence, knowing that he could master Rome whenever he pleased. He shared out the lands claimed by her among the comrades at his side, whose names were long famous in the South. He gave Tuscany and the lands of the Countess Matilda to Philip, his humane brother and successor; he gave Romagna and the March to his seneschal, Markwald of Anweiler; another German, Conrad of Urslingen, surnamed Fly-in-brain, held the Duchy of Spoleto; a fourth, Diephold of Vohburg, was made Count of Acerra a few years later. No account was made of the Pope. The Emperor was in full enjoyment of the triumph achieved by the Empire over the Kingdom. Almost every pro-

f his realm on each side of the Alps had contingent to his conquering army.*

y left Sicily early in 1195, taking with him hostages and a vast amount of treasure, the of the South. At Pavia, the Genoese waited him, and reminded him of his repeated pro-

To their dismay he refused to allow them their proposed share in his Sicilian conquests, told them that they might subdue Arragon, he would confirm to them. Both Lombardy Germany had been embroiled in various civil during the Kaiser's absence in the South. One chief disturbers of peace was now removed, troublous public life of fifty-five years. Henry on was carried to his tomb at Brunswick, behind him three sons: Henry, who became e of the Rhine; Otho, a future Kaiser; and a, through whom the Guelf stock was con-

ry the Sixth in vain strove to keep the crown own family. 'Make the empire,' said he to nces, 'no longer elective, but hereditary in ise, and I will add to it my new conquests lia and Sicily. I will also grant you the f female succession in your duchies.' This ould have been carried out, had it not or the opposition of Pope Celestine and the shops of Mayence and Cologne; the Kaiser

r of Eboli says, speaking of the next year:

avarus et Suevus, Lombardus, Marchio, Tuscus,
In propriam redeunt Saxo, Boemus, humum."

ire, as we see, put forth its whole strength to conquer dom.

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was forced to content himself with an oath of allegiance sworn by the princes to his infant son. A Crusade against the successor of Saladin was now in agitation. Late in 1196 the German warriors, bound on this pious errand, came pouring into Italy, and Henry, who had promised to lead them himself, took advantage of their presence to rivet his yoke more securely upon the wretched Kingdom. He exacted much money, and razed the walls of Naples and Capua; at the latter town he found Count Richard, who had held Naples against him six years before, and who was now in prison, with no hope of mercy. The Emperor sentenced his victim to be dragged through the streets at the tail of a horse, and then to be hung up by the legs on a gibbet. The Count lingered in this posture, it is said, for two days, until a friendly hand tied a stone round his neck. This is but a sample of the cruelties perpetrated by Henry, which his Empress found herself powerless to check. Conrad of Rabensberg, who had acted as the Imperial viceroy at Palermo, rivalled his master's atrocities. Constance shuddered at them, and became estranged from her husband; indeed, it was said that if check were given to the king, the queen would not advance to cover it.*

In Henry the Sixth the house of Hohenstaufen seemed to have reached its zenith. We have traced it from its origin; each generation climbed one step higher than before up the ladder of greatness: knight, duke, King, Kaiser, all these gradations were left behind; the present head of the family might aspire to be Lord of the world. Sicily had

* Salimbene.

been looked upon as a stepping-stone to the rest of the Greek empire. Henry had more successes in his favour than had fallen to the lot of Roger Guiscard; he had already forced the Byzantine Emperor to pay him large sums of money. He was but thirty-two; he had even at that age conquered realms whither Charlemagne had never penetrated, and where Otho had only met with disaster. The Hohenstaufen might not unreasonably look forward to still greater achievements in the East; the Sultans of Africa had sent him rich presents, and Jerusalem, still in Saracen bondage, was waiting for a deliverer. But death put a sudden end to his other dreams of conquest on the part of Henry. The Emperor had already quelled one revolt, and had placed a crown to the head of the patriot leader. He was now besieging the castle of another Sicilian; he caught a chill while hunting, and died at Brindisi in September 1197.

But what a change was wrought by a few short months! In the autumn of 1197 the ruthless Hohenstaufen, in all the vigour of manhood, at the head of a compact Empire, was domineering over the feeble old Pope Celestine, whom he could reach from either side of Rome. In the spring of 1198 the greatest of all the Popes was installed in Peter's chair; the rightful heir to the Empire was a child but three years old; and fearful civil wars were lowering over every province of Germany and Italy.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PONTIFICATE OF INNOCENT III.

A.D. 1198—A.D. 1216.

"Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento." — VIRGIL

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WE now find ourselves in the presence of a Pope under whose guidance Rome attained her highest power. His way had been prepared by Hildebrand, who, however, died in exile, without reaping the fruits of the great clerical revolution enforced in the Eleventh century. In the long interval between Hildebrand and Innocent III, Pope stands out very prominent; the Hohenstaufens were too strong for the Papacy; even Alexander the enemy of Barbarossa, could only bring the long-born battle that raged between them to a drawn battle. But the new Pope surpassed all his predecessors. He was a son of the Conti of Anagni: three Popes of this house, during the next sixty years, waged the war with three more Hohenstaufen reigns. He was in the prime of life at the time of his election, and was already renowned as a theologian and a jurist. His manners in private life courteous, affable, and condescending, raised the hopes of many a suitor from distant realms delighted to walk to a clear fountain, not far

the Lateran palace, and there to enjoy a merry hour with some keen observer of human nature : he would roar with laughter at imitations of the bad Latin and bad theology of the archbishop of Canterbury. Innocent had a deep insight into character : he would flatter men of letters by professing interest in the books brought to his notice ; yet he had no scruple in keeping their suits at Rome dragging on for years.* His good sense was shown in his decisions on the most knotty points of the canon law, and in other ways besides. Thus, being asked by his chaplains why he always preached from a book, though he was so wise and learned,—‘ I do it for your sakes,’ said he, ‘ to set you an example ; because you are ignorant and ashamed to learn.’†

But the pulpit was too narrow a sphere for Innocent : he aspired to rule the world, and to set his foot upon the necks of its kings. He strove, though with slight success, to bridle the turbulence of the Romans ; he was more fortunate in his dealings with Central Italy, which he delivered from its German tyrants ; he enforced the surrender of the lands bequeathed to the Church by the Countess Matilda, which former Popes had been unable to obtain. To Innocent is due the temporal power of the Papacy, first established by the priestly statesmen of the Thirteenth century, re-established with more absolute sway at the eve of the Reformation, and lost in our own days by the blindest folly. His dealings with the crown of Sicily must be considered in another place. As to the Empire of the West, he found it disputed by Philip of Hohenstaufen, the

* This was the experience of Giraldus Cambrensis.

† Salimbene.

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brother of the last Kaiser, and Otho of Brunswick, the second son of Henry the Lion. Innocent at once declared against the former candidate, as being one of that rebellious house that had for the last fifty years withstood the successor of St. Peter to his face. Hence Germany was for ten years embroiled in bloody wars, which the new Pope saw without displeasure: he well knew that the weakness of the Empire was the opportunity of the Church. He now found himself able to take a tone of high command in his dealings with the Tuscan and Lombard States, which owed allegiance to the German Cæsars.

But if Italy saw in Innocent a patriotic deliverer, it was far otherwise with most European realms. The five Christian kingdoms, into which the Spanish peninsula was divided, shuddered at the threat of the Papal interdict; the people suffered for the matrimonial sins of their rulers. The king of Arragon professed himself the vassal of Rome; the king of Norway was in vain excommunicated; but his brethren of Hungary and Bohemia heard the Papal rebukes with awe. Bulgaria and Armenia turned with confidence to Rome, when Constantinople had fallen into the hands of the champions of the Latin creed. Innocent reaped the benefit of the great Venetian enterprise, which he had at first condemned; the Greek schismatics were trampled under the feet of Western crusaders and Western bishops; and a short-lived Latin empire was set up in the capital of the Comneni and the Palæologi.

But Innocent's policy with regard to England has led to more abiding results. To him we owe the promotion of Stephen Langton, the father of our English liberties. The tyrant John did indeed

CHAP. new theories and practices had crept in. She
IV. skilfully adopted the rites of heathenism, which
1198-1216. lingered in Italy for at least two centuries after Constantine's conversion. The symbolism of the Old Testament kept its place in her creed, while the spirituality of the New Testament was overclouded. Her monks have without doubt done priceless service to mankind by their preservation of learning both sacred and profane, by their attention to agriculture, and by their faithful denunciations of slavery. But the lives of too many of them were passed in sloth and vice : men thought that they could no longer recognise in the Church the pure bride of Christ ; she was reviled as the harlot foretold in the Apocalypse.

A race of dissenters had sprung up in Asia Minor ; thence, after cruel persecutions, they had been transplanted into Bulgaria ; from that country they overran Western Europe, following the course of the Danube. Early in the Eleventh century we find the flames kindled for heretics at Orleans and Milan ; but the sectaries grew and multiplied ; they enjoyed a respite owing to the wars between the Church and Empire, and their converts were especially numerous in France and Italy. The Popes did not rule with vigour : humanity was the leading feature in the character of St. Bernard, who in some degree supplied their place ; so the Twelfth century was chiefly remarkable for the spread of dissent, just as the Thirteenth century was the age of a bloody re-action. It is hard to discover the precise belief of the various sects : their history has been written by their enemies. One sect alone, that of the Waldenses, has been pronounced by the monks free from the Eastern

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ever ready to be poured in from the North; Innocent himself shuddered at the deeds of his crusade. The King of France was as much benefited by the result as the Pope was; it was the triumph of Philip over Toulouse, of the Langue d'Oil over the Langue d'Oc. In the mean time, every Emperor favoured by Rome, whether Guelf or Hohenstaufen, was constrained to publish bloody edicts against the heretics of Italy, known as Paterines or Cathari.

But other means were taken to combat the evil; it was resolved to bring forward enthusiasm as the best ally of the established Church. Earnest men, eager to preach, had hitherto betaken themselves to one of the heretical sects. Peter Waldo had been driven into secession from the Church, against his own will, by the harshness of Pope Alexander. It must indeed have cost religious men a fearful wrench, before they could tear themselves away from the most venerable institution to be found in the world. For no other institution could boast such a catalogue of renowned names. Grievously as she had erred, the Church could point to a long unbroken line of holy men reaching up to the Galilean fisherman. It is true that these men had held very different opinions, for the progress of error had been stealthy and slow. Some unscriptural doctrine had been first broached by an individual, and perhaps hotly debated; it had then tacitly grown to be a part of the popular creed; and it had lastly, after the lapse of centuries, been stamped with the seal of a General Council. Thus it was hard to tell at what precise period truth had been eclipsed by error. The Church, challenging the implicit obedience of all, took the place of the Scriptures, which were

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during the first century of this Order's existence. The Minorite friars were remarkable for their half-crazy mysticism; they appealed to love, if the Preaching friars appealed to fear. Poverty was the bride elect of St. Francis; humility was his chief injunction. His life, abounding in extravagances, was supposed to be in close conformity to that of the Saviour. His successors, such as Elias of Cortona and John of Parma, went beyond him, and scared sober minds; a part of the Order broke through all bounds, and a formidable secession was the result. But Innocent could not foresee these evils; at any rate, he furnished the bark of St. Peter with two fresh crews of rowers, whose help was especially needed, now that a new General Council, almost the last act of the Pope's life, was called to ratify the innovations which exalted the power of the priesthood over the laity more than ever.

The two new Orders, even in the lifetime of their founders, pushed their way into almost every Christian realm;—one example of their mode of proceeding must suffice. In 1224, the Minorites first invaded England, sent by St. Francis himself; they were nine in number, some of them being foreigners. After landing, they were locked up for a night in a castle near Dover by a nobleman, who charged them with being spies or traitors. 'If you take us for robbers,' said one of the band, holding up his cord in jest, 'here is a halter to hang us.' On being let go, they travelled on to London, and were entertained for a fortnight by the Dominicans, who were already established in that city. The new comers soon gained possession of a house in Cornhill, and were patronised by Archbishop Langton. Not only

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duty of paying tithes ; they robbed the parish of his burial fees ; they heard the confessions of flock ; they allured the people to their sermons while he lost all his hearers. To this the friars answer, ' Our sermons aim at higher things than payment of tithes ; you beneficed clergy have ears and to spare ; as it is, you neglect the poor of Christ for your concubines and buffoons. As to burial every man has a right to choose his own resting place. As to confessions, the Papacy has allowed to share in this duty, owing to the temptations that in the way of women by you seculars. As to sermons, the Lord has brought in better men than yourselves, on finding that you had become ignorant and vicious. Some priests practise usury, or frequent taverns ; how can they complain if our masses preferred to theirs, when they use rusty chalice and sour wine, a Host so small that it can hardly be seen and moreover the worse for the flies, while the priests wear filthy stoles and maniples ? Our ministrations are much sought after, it is true, by women but those who accuse us on this account are all too eager to find blots in the elect.'* The friars do their own way ; even if one Pope, weary of the constant squabbling, made a decree against them the next Pope was sure to recall it.

The jealousies of the parochial clergy were always breaking out against a class of rivals which was bound to a far stricter rule of life than themselves. Thus, in a provincial synod at Ravenna, the secular priests assailed the friars on the four points, especially on the question of confessions. At last the Archbishop, a man of savage temper, put a stop

* Salimbene.

attack by saying, 'Wretches and madmen, to whom am I to entrust confessions, if not to the Monks and Preachers? Am I to entrust the shriveling of women to Priest Gerard here, who has his house full of sons and daughters, as I know well? and I would that Priest Gerard was the only one of you of whom this could be said!' Those of the clergy who were conscious that they did not keep their vows turned red at this very plain speaking.*

The personal holiness of life, which the new friars possessed and at first practised, commanded the respect of all classes. The greatest of Italian poets sang the praises of the two restorers of religion.

The tomb of St. Dominic at Bologna is the memorial of the first efforts of the Italian chisel; the lofty churches that rise above the bones of St. Dominic, at Assisi, enshrine the earliest Italian frescoes. Louis hastened to pay their homage; St. Louis, the champion of royalty, wished that he could give one half of his body to St. Dominic and the other to St. Francis. He listened with respect to a Cordelier, enlarged from the pulpit on the duties owed by monarchs to their subjects.† Louis employed both Friars and Cordeliers to travel through his realm to redress grievances. The Order of St. Francis could boast a long list of Royal personages who had placed themselves among the lay brethren affiliated to the Order.

So early as 1236, the sister of the Bohemian King, rejecting the proffered hand of the Emperor, became one of the Franciscan nuns known afterwards as the Poor Sisterhood of St. Clare.‡ One of

* Salimbene. This took place about 1260.

† Joinville.

‡ Alb. Stadensis.

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the main features of the new discipline was the ing given for lay agency ; anybody might be Tertiary, attached to one of the two Orders ; might incorporate themselves into kindred hoods ; all classes alike might help on the work. The Italian mind was stirred to its depths. When the foundation stone of the I can convent at Reggio was being laid and ble the Bishop in 1233, men and women, knigh plebeians, peasants and burghers, all alike le aid, bearing stones and mortar on their backs ; was he who could carry the most. The b was finished in three years. The devotion by the Franciscans was still more fervent. these brethren first came to Parma, Bafulo. the richest and bravest knights in the city, e himself in the Order. He devised a strange p for himself ; he was dragged through Parma tail of a horse, and was scourged by two of vants. On his approaching the porch of St. the knights who were sitting there, as was t tom, not recognising their old friend, cried ‘ Give it the robber, give it him ! ’ Bafulo up and said, ‘ Very true ; up to this time I hav like a robber, sinning against God and my ow He then bade his servants drag him further the other knights glorified God.*

But in some cases we find the hearts of tl estranged by the indiscreet zeal of the friars. dren were sometimes tempted away from th rents, and it was not easy to recover a son lost way. By the strongest possible interest, perhap

* Salimbene.

id of an Emperor or a Pope, the bereaved father
d procure letters from the General of the Order,
rising a personal interview with the proselyte.
young friar would be primed with many texts
putting his hand to the plough, loving father
other more than Christ, confessing Christ before
the enmity to be expected from those of a man's
household. The friars perhaps would allow a
e conference between father and son, while they
elves were listening behind the wall, in the
est fear for their novice. 'Do not believe these
brutes,' the irreverent father would cry; 'What
to say to your mother, who is always grieving
you?' 'Say to her,' the runaway would an-
'that when my father and my mother forsake
e Lord taketh me up. It is good for a man to
the yoke in his youth.' The father in despair
dash himself on the ground before all the
ren, and devote his son to a thousand devils.
ad would find ample compensation in a vision
safed by the Virgin. He would have to keep
close, if his convent was near the coast, for
titan pirates might be bribed by his kinsfolk to
him off. He would have to bear reproaches
his old acquaintances, such as these, 'Many
servants in your father's house have plenty of
and bread, while you go about begging your
d from the poor. You ought to be riding through
city on a destrier, or joining in a tournament
he benefit of the ladies and buffoons.' But such
ts would not move a stout-hearted Franciscan.*
thers were not the only class who bewailed the

* This is Salimbene's experience.

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encroaching spirit of the new Orders ; the Benedictines and Cistercians were indignant at the novel tensions now set up by their younger rivals. The new Paris faithfully represents the feeling of the school of monks ; in him we may also remark the English patriot, who views with anger the superiority of the new friars to the Papal chair. They became the collectors of the money needed in Rome ; they were the shameless exactors of English revenues for foreign purposes ; they cared for the Pope, their patron. In process of time their virtue began to grow dim ; they forgot the poverty so earnestly inculcated by their founders. Their stately convents rivalled the palaces of St. Dominic and St. Francis had lived together in ; it was not so with their disciples. The Preachers mentioned the legend of the Stigmata ; the Minorites chuckled over the buffoonish verses made in rivalry of their rivals. A document, published to the new Orders about forty years after their birth, shows the extent of the mischievous jealousy between the Dominicans and Franciscans. They were reminded of their original aims and alliance by a letter, the composition of their Generals, Humbert of Romans and John of Parma. The brotherhoods are thus exhorted : ‘ These are the two trumpets of Moses which call the people together ; these are the two columns of wisdom, full of knowledge, which look towards the East and the West, spreading their wings to the people ; these are the two breasts of the Bride, which give suck to the babes in Christ ; these are the two witnesses of the Lord, that prophesy clothed in sackcloth ; these are the two bright stars foretold by the Sibyl. How can we be true disciples, unless we love one another ? ’

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side whom he knew to be fit for his place. There was Regnier Capocci of Viterbo, the bosom friend of St. Dominic, and Ugolino Conti of Anagni, bosom friend of St. Francis. These were the men who would carry on Innocent's work far into the next century, relying on the new Orders which Innocent's foresight had given to the Church, and which appeared just in time to bear the brunt of the next struggle with the Hohenstaufens.

How wonderful is the Church of Rome! Ever the hour of need comes, she has some chain ready to rivet mankind anew. Her religious brotherhoods have been her salvation. Hildebrand would have done little, had he not had the Benedictines at hand, to whom he could point as the proof of his darling celibacy. In the next century, the Cistercians maintained the battle against the heretical opinions, until Innocent arose to crush all opposition. The Dominicans and Franciscans gave a fresh lease of three hundred years to the empire of Rome. In the crash of the Sixteenth century, when all seemed to be lost, when Britain, Germany, and Scandinavia were gone, when France, Austria, and Poland were wavering, and when Spain and Italy alone remained true to their allegiance; then it was that the Order, well fitted to the times, rolled back the tide of Protestantism, recovered half of the lost ground, and turned the doubtful day.

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until Italy was freed from her foreign masters, were bent on carving out lordships for themselves in the general scramble. The first of these which Innocent took in hand, was the seneschal of the Emperor, Markwald of Anweiler, who had been rewarded for his services in the conquest of Italy with the duchies of Ravenna, Romagna, and Ancona. He was one of the greatest warriors of the age, and was equally successful on sea and on land.* Yet the less was he placed under the ban of the Church by whom his subjects were easily induced to rebel. The Church did not spare her treasures; a Cardinal was sent into the March, and Markwald's castles were burnt to the ground.† Another German, Conrad of Urslingen, had been made Duke of Spoleto by Henry the Sixth, and was thus a neighbour of the Pope, to whom he in vain offered an enormous bribe for the confirmation of his Italian possessions; Innocent never rested, until he despatched the intruder to the other side of the Alps. Being aware, however, that he should not be able to keep the distant Romagnoles true to the Holy See, the far-seeing statesman of the Lateran contented himself with laying the foundation of the future temporal dominion of the Popes, and for the present left the outlying provinces pretty much to themselves. Their complete subjection to the successors of St. Peter was not accomplished until centuries later, an achievement reserved for

* Petrus de Ebulo :

'Hic Marcwaldus, cui se Neptunus ad omne
Velle dedit, cui se Mars dedit esse parem.'

† Innocent's Letters for 1199.

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the land of the Chaldees, Sicily by Tyre, and Frederick himself by Ashur. The prophet also foretold that Frederick could not be slain, except by God: all attempts to murder him would fail. Another dark presage was referred to Frederick's birth: a report was spread, and widely believed, that the Empress had lived beyond the age of bearing children, that she had shammed pregnancy, and that the son of a butcher at Jesi had been passed off as her own offspring.* This silly tale was long afterwards thrown in Frederick's teeth. It was said in Northern Germany, that the man who had lent his child to the Empress was either a physician, a miller, or a falconer.† In order to refute this calumny, Constance underwent some unpleasant experiments in public, wishing to convince the Italian dames that she was still capable of the honours of maternity.‡ In truth, she was but forty at the time when her offspring came into the world.

The birth of Frederick, in the year 1194, had aroused transports of joy in the hearts of the Imperial party, if we may judge by the verses made upon the occasion by a Salernitan bard. Peter of Eboli, when welcoming the Hohenstaufen babe, had indulged in auguries respecting its future lot, curiously falsified by the event. The father, whose dearest wishes were granted in the midst of his triumphs, was happy; but the child would be happier still. It would surpass its German and Norman

* Salimbene. The prophecy about Frederick's death is genuine; it was talked of long before that event took place.

† Alb. Stadensis.

‡ Anon. Vaticani Hist. Sicula, but this is rather a late authority.

fathers. Young Frederick would be a sun without a cloud, and would never undergo an eclipse. His birth was hailed in strains that would be appropriate only to the coming of a Messiah. Beasts of the forest, sang the poet, forgot to harass their peaceful subjects. Earth and heaven poured forth their choicest blessings upon mankind, happy in the birth of the Imperial babe, who was the glory of Italy, the offspring of Jove, the heir of the Roman name, the reformer of the world and of the Empire. Long might he reign, behold the world full of his descendants, and be borne to heaven after having done some great-grandfather!

We are indebted to this zealous bard for the first domestic notice of the young Prince. A Spaniard brought to the child a huge fish, which is said to have been worthy of Cæsar. The Anconitan coast, indeed, which was not very far off, had long before produced Domitian's famous turbot. The little Frederick, with the help of his attendant, cut the fish into three parts, kept two of these for himself, and sent the third to his father. The ingenious poet strives to extract some curious presages from this simple story. Henry VI. gratefully bestowed some lands at Eboli upon his Laureate, who appears in later writers as Master Peter the verse-maker. The child, rapturously greeted, was brought up at Foligno, at the foot of the Apennines, a town on which he afterwards bestowed many favours, and which thus became firmly attached to its illustrious nursling.* The wife of Conrad the duke of Spoleto was en-

* In Fulgini^o fulgere pueritia nostra incepit. Letter of Frederick.

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trusted with the care of Frederick's child rights were very soon in jeopardy; the Germany made small account of the oath sworn to him during his father's life—the sealed letters which they had sent, their plighted fealty.* Indeed, the Pope directed their attention to another candidate: the crown of Sicily was Frederick's undoing. At Palermo witnessed at the same time his father's death and his father's burial, in May 1198. He invoked the blessing of Christ, of the Virgin Mary, of St. Agatha, and of many other saints on the occasion as the crown was placed on his head in the cathedral, the work of the late Archbishop.

The first charter known to have been issued by the young King is dated in June, after his coronation, and is a grant made by him to his mother to Ofamilio the younger, Archbishop of Palermo. The Empress found herself defenceless. She had rewarded the Gold comrads of her husband, and had sent them back into their own land to join his brother. The latter, in return, sent home the blind nobles, whom Henry had kept in his dungeons.† Intrigues were speedily set on foot. Of Palear, the Bishop of Troja and Chancellor of the Kingdom, was so little to be trusted, that he was deprived of the Seal. The Archbishop's absence from his diocese should lead to a

* Godefr. Colon. Urspergensis.

† Codex transcribed by Amato, which Bréholles

‡ Breve Chronicon Vaticanum.

the real danger lay in Central Italy, where a
was now gathering.

Pope Innocent saw his advantage, and drove a
bargain with the friendless lady. He sent the
Bishop of Ostia as his Legate into Sicily, where that
Bishop, owing to the peculiar privileges of the King-
dom, had hitherto been unknown. The Pope con-
gratulated the prelates that the hills of Calabria and
plains of Apulia were now free from the whirl-
wind which had lately swooped upon them from
the North, and that Charybdis near Taormina was
unstained with blood. Sicily must prove her
gratitude to God for these favours, by returning to
her old allegiance to the Church; it had been
greatly impaired by the late broils. She must
welcome, with all due honours, the Legate of the
Holy See. This letter was followed by another in
November, addressed to Constance and her son,
reby, after recalling to her mind the piety of
her predecessors, the Pope granted to her 'the
Kingdom of Sicily, the Duchy of Apulia and Princi-
pality of Capua, with all its appurtenances, Naples,
Gaeta, and Amalfi, with their appurtenances, Mar-
sica, and the other lands beyond Marsia, to which
the Royal pair had a right.' The Bishop of Ostia
was to receive the oath of fealty from the vassals of
the King; and homage was to be done to the Pope
and his successors in future. A yearly tribute of
10 *schifati* was to be paid to the Roman Church.
Elections were in future to be canonical; for Inno-
cent, whom his contemporary biographer rightly
calls 'a most sagacious Pontiff,' was striving hard
to abolish the privilege of independence as regarded
episcopal elections, which his predecessors had

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granted in a moment of weakness to the old rulers of Sicily. This vexed question became afterwards the bitter source of contention between young Frederick and the See of Rome. Another letter from Innocent to Constance proposed a compromise, whence it is not easy to see how the Crown of Sicily could reap much advantage, although doubtless the Papal chair was a great gainer. Much is said about the Royal assent to an election being sought, after the chapter has made the choice; but nothing is settled, in the event of the Crown objecting to the election. Thus Innocent regained most of that power granted of old by the Holy See to the Norman Kings. Constance agreed to pay him 30,000 golden tarins during the minority of her son, besides whatever the Pope might expend in defending the Kingdom. Moreover, the Sicilian bishops were in future to have the right of appeal to Rome, and the clergy were to be judged in their own courts for every cause except high treason.

Constance died on the 28th of November, 1198, after having bequeathed her now orphan son to the guardianship of Innocent. She had appointed a council of regency, comprising the Archbishops of Palermo, Monreale, and Capua, and also Walter of Palear, the faithless Chancellor of the Kingdom, to whom the Pope very soon wrote for a supply of money; it was wrong to spare property when lives were at stake.* The young King seems to have been much neglected in the confusion which followed his mother's death. According to one improbable account, the child was passed on, until he

* Letters of Innocent for 1199.

seven, from one house to another, the Paler-
n burghers taking him in, one for a week,
her for a month, as their respective means al-
d.* Strange tales were repeated long after-
ls about the childhood of the future arch-enemy
ome. It is said that when he was four years
he was heard to cry out in his sleep, 'I cannot,
mot!' On being afterwards questioned about
dream, he said, 'I seemed to be eating all the
in the world, and I saw one great bell, which
ld not swallow, but it seemed to kill me; and
hat account I cried out.' Rome in the end did
e a morsel too tough for Frederick.†

s soon as Markwald heard of the death of the
ress, who had forbidden him to enter her King-
, he hurried from Ancona into Apulia, and
ned for himself the viceroyalty of Sicily, pro-
ng a forged will of the late Emperor to that
t. All the German intruders, headed by Diep-
, Count of Acerra, flocked from every part to
invader's standard; at the same time, Markwald

before the Pope the most tempting offers of
e sums of money, of a doubled tribute, and of
coming proofs that Frederick was a suppositi-
is child. These overtures were haughtily rejected;
ocent ordered the Sicilian nobles to swear alle-
nce to their King; but in 1199 Markwald got the
pal Legates into his power. Two of them were
tawed; the third, Cardinal Ugolino, a future
pe, declared the will of Innocent in the most un-

Chronicle of Sicily, in Muratori.

Imago Mundi, by Jacobus de Aquis, in the Piedmontese
onicles lately published.

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 V. harming him.
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In the midst of all these untoward events, Innocent wrote a letter of consolation to the orphan King, whom he called the especial son of the Apostolic See. 'God,' said the Pope, 'has not spared thee; he has taken away your father and mother; yet he has given you a worthier father, His Vicar; a better mother, the Church.' Cardinal Gregory, Pope's Legate in Sicily, was exhorted to bestir himself; the King's courtiers were commanded to obey this representative of the Lord paramount, and to send the will of the late Empress to Rome. Innocent procured an order directed to the men of Montefiascone, on the part of Frederick, by which they were ordered to obey the Apostolic See, in spite of the oath they had sworn to the infant King.

In the mean time, Markwald and all his abettors, whether German or Italian, had been excommunicated; but on his coming to Veroli, and making his submission to the Bishop of Ostia, he was absolved; and Innocent sent into Sicily the exact terms of the reconciliation, lest a false version of that event might get abroad. This was in August; three months later, all had changed for the worse. Innocent tells the Sicilians, that 'Markwald, a second Saladin in wickedness, is conspiring against them. The unclean spirit, finding no rest in the March, has returned into Sicily, taking unto himself spirits worse than himself, such as Diephold and the other Germans. Robbery, arson, rape, and murder, are now threatening the Kingdom.' The excommunication was re-issued against these ruffians. Markwald had crossed over into the island, aided by the pirate William the Fat;

unmindful of the benefits received from the late Emperor who had raised him from the dunghill, he plotting the death of the Emperor's child, say-

'Lo, this is the heir; come, let us slay him!' Markwald had been joined by the Saracens of the East. A crusade was preached against him; the sword of Phinehas was to be employed against this infidel, and an army was promised for the defence of the Kingdom, although the Pope groaned at the cost.

Innocent also wrote to the Saracens of Western Sicily, praising them for their past obedience, but warning them not to join Markwald; if that invader had shown himself so merciless to his fellow Christians, what would he not do to Mohammedans? he had broken his oath to the Pope, would he keep faith with unbelievers? Many Christian princes had taken the cross already, who might probably touch Sicily on their way to Palestine, in the event of a

Moslem revolt in that island. Innocent sent another letter to the regents of Sicily, reminding them of Markwald's cruelties in the terrible year 1194. 'You know from the past what the man is likely to do. Array the Kingdom against him; I am despatching an army to your aid from Lombardy, Apulia, and the Campagna. Think of the Sicilian nobles and clergy, blinded, roasted, drowned, by this man! Take heed to the King, to the Kingdom, yea, to your own selves!'

The Pope's exhortations were of no avail; Markwald, beginning his march from Trapani at the instigation of the Germans and Saracens, and aided by the Pisans, occupied the cathedral of Monreale, and was besieging Palermo in the year 1200.

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Money was needed for its defence. The Bishop of Patti came forward with a gift of 17,000 tarents to the Chancellor of the kingdom; the Canon of Palermo contributed 25,000 tarents.* Besides this, Innocent had collected an army in Tuscany, which he entrusted to his cousin, James the Marshal, and which was accompanied by the Archbishops of Naples and Taranto, and by Cardinal Cencio, who was sent to act as the young King's guardian.† The Pope's soldiers first landed in Calabria, and there subdued Frederick, a German baron. They then touched at Messina, a town ever loyal to its rightful sovereign, and which had on that account been lately endowed with some commercial privileges. The army of relief next steered for Palermo; and the result shall be told in the words of Anselm, the Archbishop of Naples. 'We reached Palermo on the 17th of July; all the lords of the court, except the Bishop of Catania, arrived on the same day and hour, as it pleased the Lord. The town had been besieged for twenty days by Markwald and the Saracens, and was in want of provisions; that same day we pitched our camp in the King's garden, outside the walls of the city. The cunning enemy Markwald sent Regnier of Manente to treat of peace, knowing our want of money, and aware that delay would be fatal to us; but the Lord above, who knows all before the event, overthrew his plan. All the King's army, with one voice, though in different tongues, cried out, "No peace with an excommunicated man!" Markwald made a second attempt

* Charters of Frederick.

† This cardinal is not the one who succeeded Innocent in the Papacy.

ace; but your scribe, Master Bartholomew, put
 and to it, by producing your letter, which forbade
 treaty with that most wicked Markwald. Four
 afterwards, a most stubborn battle took place
 between Palermo and Monreale, the latter of which
 Markwald held, lasting from nine till three. We
 the victory mainly to the Marshal, who held
 the rear; for our van was twice forced to
 by the multitude of our foes; but the Marshal,
 led by the Lord, rallied us and afterwards scat-
 tled the Germans and Saracens in a moment, and
 led them with slaughter, until they escaped to
 the mountains; so, after leaving all their tents and
 property, they went the way of perdition. Five
 hundred Pisans and a vast number of Saracens had
 been left to defend the heights of Monreale; but
 the infantry, led by Count Gentile and others,
 took the position, and put all they found there to
 the sword. The Pisan leader Benedetto, with a
 few others, escaped, but the Saracen Emir Magded
 was killed. It is not known whither Markwald has

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but his envoy Regnier, lately the mediator be-
 tween men and the Devil, is thrown into prison, to-
 gether with many others of their leaders. We know
 how many were slain, but we were busy the
 day of that day bringing off their spoils. This
 has given everlasting glory to the Marshal and
 to his men; I do not recommend him to you;
 deeds have done that already.' This may have
 been the first battle ever witnessed by Frederick;
 the child was perhaps a distant spectator of the
 bloody field. A document was found among Mark-
 ward's baggage, said to be the will of the Emperor
 Henry the Sixth. It bequeathed Sicily to the Pope,

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ordered the restitution of the lands of the Countess Matilda, and conferred many advantages upon Markwald. It is impossible now to determine whether this will was genuine or forged; but Innocent was not slow to avail himself of it. James the First was made Count of Andria for his services in Sicily, and the Electors of Germany were rebuked for interceding for Markwald, who soon afterwards fought a second battle.

In October, Innocent forbade the regents of Sicily to alienate the royal domains, or to encroach upon the treasury. Frederick was then but five years of age, yet it was found necessary to interdict his countenance from planning any marriage for him without the Pope's consent. Soon Innocent was annoyed to hear that some of the nobles were treating with the Saracens, and he endeavoured to bring over to his side by repeating his threat of a crusade in the event of their adherence to Marston. This ruffian seems now to have sailed back to Sicily, since Innocent wrote to the nobles of that island in November, reminding them that the scars of the wounds inflicted by the German were yet unhealed. Markwald, as the Pope feelingly complains, succeeded better after his defeat at Palermo than before. Walter the Chancellor, angry at being superseded by a Cardinal from Rome, had gone over to the Count's party, and had brought the dreaded enemy of the Pope to Palermo against the will of the other prelates. The wily statesman was accused of aiming at the extinction of his brother, Count Gentile, to the advantage of his own. He entrusted him with the custody of young

ck; and Innocent was forced to caution the
ian clergy against paying any attention to the
al seal, as the King was not a free agent. The
ancellor indeed expended the royal goods, and
e grants of the royal lands, at his own will.
had moreover the art to obtain from Car-
l Cencio, the Pope's Legate, the Archbishopric
Palermo; but Innocent, who was not to be
ed, refused to ratify this arrangement. The
e wrote, in 1201, to his Legate, in terms which
ould suppose are seldom addressed to an agent
the Lateran:—‘Unless we bore especial love
your person, we should, by chastising you, teach
how you have sinned against the Church, your
ther. Of your own proper motion you presumed
confer the office. If one of us two is to be con-
nded, you are the man.’

Innocent, in the mean time, had called a new
ampion into the field against Markwald. Philip
Suabia, who was at this time struggling with Otho
Brunswick for the Empire, had set free the Sicilian
tives, the victims of his savage brother Henry.
lliam, the young usurper, had died in his Northern
on; but his mother Sibylla was now in France,
ere she had married her eldest daughter Albinia
Valter de Brienne, the head of a noble house in
mpagne, the destinies of which were closely
rwoven with those of Frederick. This French
ght undertook the conquest of Sicily in the inte-
of the Church, on condition of being made
nt of Lecce and Prince of Taranto. Innocent, after
g hesitation, agreed to these terms, first causing
Brienne to take an oath that he would be true
Frederick. The Pope's champion went back into

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France, in order to enlist men for the crusade against Markwald, an easy task in that land of pious murderers. Thus France was pitted against Germany, the favourite device of the Popes.

Meanwhile, the Chancellor, who had no hope of the mitre of Palermo, acted as if he had been king, conferred and took away the titles of count and baron, and appointed justiciaries, clerks, and stratigots, disposing of the revenues as he chose. He crossed over into Calabria, and seized the churches of their treasures. Innocent communicated him, and would not allow him to wear the mitres of either Palermo or Troja. Finding he did not gain much by his rebellion, the Chancellor stooped to make an effort for reconciliation, and sent the Pope's Legate in Apulia. But on being asked to separate himself from the party of Diephobus, he answered: 'Even if the Apostle Peter, sent by himself, should lay this command on me, I would not obey him, even on pain of damnation!' An ancient maxim is still extant, by which it seems that the Chancellor pledged some lands to one of the churches, receiving from it a loan of ninety ounces of gold. The Chancellor acts on the occasion in his own name, scarcely mentioning his Royal master's deed.

In 1201, on the 3rd of July, Innocent addressed a long letter to the boy King: — 'O that thou wouldst inspire your tender years with wisdom, that you were spared the knowledge of that maxim: "A man's foes are they of his own household." You overthrew your enemy Markwald at our own expense, almost unaided by your courtiers. Some courtiers are, however, desirous to fish in the

ers; after sending back the Marshal unrewarded, have sought peace with Markwald, an excommunicated man. Thus they have broken their oath and to you, pouring venom into the snake and into the furnace. They are handing over all over to Markwald, giving us a mere empty name; though against our commands they have drained the coffers, they refuse us the tribute promised by the Empress. They have enriched themselves and their kinsmen, male and female. Since the man used to eat your bread has tried to supplant you, we have taken a course for which there is a precedent in Sicilian history. The throne of William Good was strengthened in love and peace by the recall from banishment of those nobles whom his father William the Bad had cast out. We have now granted to Walter de Brienne the principality of Taranto and the county of Lecce, which your father had promised to William the son of Tancred and to his sister, that is, to William's sister, the bride of Walter. We have taken the precaution to exact an oath from the said Count Walter, that he will not plot against the Crown, but that he will loyally combat your enemies. We would rather have him your ally than your enemy. He has already returned with an army from France, raised at his own cost, and has gained a wonderful victory over Diaphold, and is about to be the master of Apulia. He is causing all men, by our orders, to take the oath of fealty to you. After the Chancellor has indeed made a league with the beaten Diaphold, but neither of them will be able to stand. Take care in whom you put your trust; your courtiers are undermining your throne; they are defending you with spiritual and temporal

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arms. The Count of Brienne has done more you in one day, than some of your friends, who broad their phylacteries, have done in their lives. Give no heed to those who calumniate his bride, and her family, and who declare that father banished them ; be suspicious rather of man, whom your mother would have thrown prison, had it not been for us. We warn y trust the loyalty of the Count ; we are rea receive your courtiers once more into favour i only repent.'

Innocent also wrote, in 1202, to the, offici Apulia, ordering them to undo, as far as they the mischief wrought by the rebellious Wal Palcar, whom the Pope will not call either bish chancellor. He sent James the Marshal once into Sicily, and proposed to employ De B against the Germans in that island, as the F chief had twice routed Diephold. on the mai 'Markwald will not await you in the field, Innocent, writing to Walter, 'but he will l himself to some castle. The Counts Roger of and James of Tricarico can deal with Diep Follow my advice without delay.' The Pope his champion letters of credit on the merc authorising him to pledge the revenues of A and to borrow money even on usurious terms. the warrant of the Holy See. But Markwal overpowered by a stronger enemy than De B in the summer of this year ; after having subd Sicily except Messina, and after having got pos of the King's person by means of Count Gent died bellowing with agony, unable to surv operation for the stone. This event took pl

when he was on the point of gaining Messina.*
 ent rejoiced over the death of his arch enemy,
 congratulated those Sicilian prelates who had
 owed the knee to Baal. Death had delivered
 om other Germans, besides Markwald of damn-
 emory. Conrad, the Duke of Spoleto, was cut off
 on his way to take Markwald's place; another
 ir compatriots, who had killed the Bishop of
 died pitiably, together with his brother. The
 on party in Italy was all but annihilated by the
 1202, and the Pope sent the joyful news to
 Archbishop of Cologne, recommending the Ger-
 prelates to take warning by the fate of others,
 ot to despise the keys of Peter.

The best proof of the turn which the affairs of
 Kingdom were now taking is, that Walter of
 at this time made his submission to the Pope.
 ent wrote to him in the spring of 1203, giving
 nce more his title of Chancellor. He rebuked
 or the past, but received him into favour, after
 many precautions for his future good beha-

The chief cause which brought over Walter
 is enmity to William Kapparon, another Ger-
 who had taken the place of Markwald and
 himself guardian of the King and chief Cap-
 of Sicily. The tyrant harassed the Archbishop
 reale, banishing his friends and torturing his
 ts. Innocent sternly reproved the Canons of
 hurch for wasting its treasures, for giving its
 us ornaments to the wife of Kapparon, for
 g the Prelate of his revenues, and for rifling
 mb of his predecessor. They had also offered

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* Breve Chronicon Vaticanum.

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outrages to Innocent's messengers. Excommunication for all these crimes was most distinctly threatened. What must have been the general state of the dominions of Frederick during his minority, when even the clergy within sight of his own palace set an example of turbulence and rapacity!

Everything seemed to hang upon Innocent's life, as the King himself was only eight years old; for upon a rumour of the Pope's death being spread, many of the chief towns of Apulia revolted from De Brienne. In 1204, Innocent despatched Cardinal Gerard Allucingolo, in whom he had especial confidence, as his Legate into Sicily, observing to the prelates and nobles that Satan had sifted them as wheat. The young King had before sent to Rome envoys, among whom was Anselm the archbishop of Naples; the Cardinal brought Innocent's reply in October, which it was hoped would put an end to the civil war that had torn to pieces the Kingdom ever since the death of the Empress. Even William Kapparon had asked for peace; he was told that his request needed much consideration, and he was referred to the Cardinal Legate. Allucingolo in vain strove to reconcile Kapparon and the Chancellor; he had better success with the King, with whom he became a great favourite. He found, however, that he could do nothing at Palermo, owing to Kapparon's faithlessness; so he awaited the Pope's orders at Messina.

All this time Apulia was the theatre of a war between Diephold and Walter de Brienne. The soldier of the Papacy, who was known as the Gentle Count, would probably have obtained the crown of Sicily in the event of Frederick's death. Walter

so much confidence in the prowess of his own countrymen, that he used to boast that even armed men would not dare to attack unarmed French-

However, in the year 1205, notwithstanding his vaunt, he was surprised by Diephold, and died of wounds in the hands of his hated enemy. By

Princess his widow he left a son, whom Freder-

long afterwards regarded with jealousy as a probable pretender to the Crown, since the boy was

son to Tancred the Usurper. Thus, in the

space of three years, both Markwald of Anweiler

Walter de Brienne had vanished from the scene,

entirely to the advantage of the Throne.

Innocent wrote, in 1206, to the Saracens in Sicily,

held Entella, Giato, Platani, and other strong-

holds, advising them to stand true to their allegiance ;

In his letter they paid little heed, as they very

soon made an inroad upon the Christians of the

island, when the palace at Palermo was once more

haunted by rival factions. Peter the Count of

Andria, who was Grand Justiciary of Apulia and of the

March of di Lavoro, and who had married the Chancellor's

daughter, now made overtures to Innocent for reconcilia-

The wary old statesman seems to have been a

man of little faith ; he would not put himself into the

hands of the Pope. Innocent rebuked him, gravely tell-

ing him, ' It is a crime to believe that the Apostolic

See will begin to make itself a liar in your case, since

it ever stands in truth. O noble Count, who has so

easily bewitched you ? Think of the end of Mark-

wald, the wicked man who was like a cedar of

Libanon. Walter the Chancellor found himself

thrown when he entered the lists against God.

Diephold pretended to reconcile himself with us ;

CHAP. he tried to deceive us, and lies bound in the cords of
 V. his own sins. Do not delay returning to the alliance
 1194-1212. which you owe to the Church.'

The Pope, in the last-quoted letter, refers Diephold, who had made his submission, and then been absolved. Unable to remain quiet the German sailed to Palermo, and for a time the King into his hands, until the child was released by the Chancellor. Diephold, after passing time in prison, escaped back to Salerno. parts of the realm were equally disturbed. In 1200 Cuma, a nest of pirates, was destroyed by the Neapolitans, who assailed it by sea and land.*

Little respect was shown by the great maritime powers to the Sicilian throne during the reign of Constance, and her son's long and disastrous minority. In 1198 the Genoese admiral laid hold of a pirate in the harbour of Palermo, and would not release him until the Empress had threatened reprisals. Still, in 1200, Frederick granted 10,000 ounces of gold to the Genoese, besides giving them houses at Messina, Syracuse, Trapani, and Naples; they had also valuable privileges of jurisdiction and security throughout the Kingdom. In 1204 the Pisans seized upon Syracuse, and turned out the Bishop and the townsmen; but this city was recovered by the Genoese, aided by Henry, Count of Malta, a renowned captain, whom Innocent praised five years afterwards for his feats in Candia. The Pisans also blockaded Messina for three months and a half; and in 1207 they made a descent on Palermo, in the interest of William Kapparon, but were driven off by the Chancellor.†

* Giannone; *Istoria Civile*.

† Caffari; *Ann. Genov.*

es and prelates, Christians and Saracens, French Germans, seemed to vie with each other in ing Sicily and Apulia. The resources of the dom seemed to have vanished. Frederick's Norgrandsire, the great Roger, had been able to fleets of one hundred and fifty galleys, which spread havoc among the African Moslem, and insulted the Greek Emperor in his palace at antinople. In those days the office of High iral was something more than a mere name. t the beginning of the Thirteenth century, when King of Sicily was setting about a perilous enter- he was forced to accept money from Rome, to depend on Genoa for a naval convoy, thus sing the usual order of things. So low had the r of Sicily sunk, owing to the German conquest the subsequent disorders. Well might Frede- thus address himself to his royal brethren :—' To e kings of the world, and to all the princes of niverse, the innocent boy, King of Sicily, called erick ; Greeting in God's name ! Assemble your- s, ye nations ; draw nigh, ye kings ; hasten er, ye princes, and see if any sorrow be like unto sorrow ! My parents died, ere I could know : caresses ; I did not deserve to see their faces ; I, like a gentle lamb among wolves, fell into sh dependence upon men of various tribes and ues. I, the offspring of so august a union, was led over to servants of all sorts, who presumed raw lots for my garments, and for my Royal per- Germans, Tuscans, Sicilians, barbarians, con- ed to worry me. My daily bread, my drink, my dom, are all measured out to me in scanty pro- ion. No King am I ; I am ruled instead of

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ruling ; I beg favours, instead of granting them. My subjects are silly and quarrelsome. Since therefore my Redeemer liveth, and can raise me out of such a pool of misery, again and again I beseech you, O ye princes of the earth, to aid me to stand slaves, to set free the son of Cæsar, to raise the crown of the Kingdom, and to gather together again the scattered people ! Unless you avenge you yourselves will fall into the like dangers.*

In spite of these distressing public misfortunes the child's private education was well managed. Many of his instructors appear to have taught him the various branches of learning, in which at that time he was unrivalled ; while the Archbishop of Palermo and the notary John of Trajetto, personages who afterwards styled his foster-fathers, exercised a general supervision over his studies. The Royal palace at Palermo is described by Peter of Eboli, from whom a poem we have already quoted. It had a court in the middle of which a fountain played. The hall, where the Chancellor of the realm presided, rested upon forty pillars. There were six rooms adorned with various paintings ; among which were the Creation, the Deluge, the journey of Abraham, the overthrow of Pharaoh, the feats of David, and the events of Barbarossa's last Crusade, with its gloomy end.† In the days of Henry the Sixth a poet described the nations of earth bringing tribute to this gorgeous palace ; things were sadly altered in the reign of Henry's son. The boy had seen

* Von Raumer believes this letter to be genuine.

† There are some frescoes in the Galilee at Durham of the same age.

end in the world, if we except his guardian at
le.

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In 1207, Pope Innocent thus addressed Frederick, that time twelve years old :—‘ We congratulate you on your being freed from the custody of the worthy. The wolf said to the ewe :—“ I will take your lamb better than you can.” Just so we men put aside the guardianship to which your mother entrusted you. We were called upon to act as your protector both by your mother’s will and by the old custom of the Kingdom. We have many passed sleepless nights, while defending your interests. How often have letters in your behalf filled the pens of our notaries, and dried the hands of our scribes ! How often have we postponed the business of the world to your affairs ! We have spared not our own brother or cousins, whose toils have borne good fruit. We now hope that He, through whom kings rule, will establish your throne, and give you courage and virtue, by which you may withstand your foes and govern your people happily. We warn you to be guided by these faithful counsellors with whom you now are.’ Walter of Palear was once more installed as Chancellor of the realm ; but the Pope addressed a stern rebuke to the Sicilian nobles, who had given no aid to their young King, when William Kapparon was holding it in the palace at Palermo, when Diephold was harassing the mainland, and when the Saracens were in full rebellion.

In the year 1208, Richard, the Pope’s brother, led by Roffrid, the warlike Abbot of Monte Cassino, took the lead in rescuing Sora and Roccasecca, two fortresses, perched upon high rocky

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hills, and thought to be impregnable, together with many other towns, from the grasp of Conrad von Marlei; the latter being one of the most savage and treacherous of those German tyrants of Italy, who for the last seventeen years had been torturing, murdering, and burning at their pleasure. Frederick, grateful for this service, created Richard Count of Sora, and Innocent himself came to assist at the ceremony of his brother's investiture, which took place at Fossa Nuova. The new Count took an oath of fealty to the Pope for his possession. While at Sora, Innocent regulated the coinage of the Campagna. He refused to receive the customary tribute of provisions, that he might not be a burden to the various churches.*

The same year he held a parliament at San Germano, which was attended by the counts and barons of the Kingdom. He appointed Peter Count of Celano, his new convert, and Richard Count of Aquila, regents of the realm; its peace was to be maintained, and private wars were forbidden on pain of outlawry. Two hundred knights were to serve for a year at the expense of their feudal lords, to preserve peace. They were to act as police, and were to be at the orders of the Captains set over the Kingdom. Innocent wrote a letter to the nobles, in which he regretted that the heat of the summer prevented his coming into Apulia; but his cousin, James the Marshal, and other messengers, were charged with the execution of the new statutes. The Pope was now occupied with a plan for the future welfare of his young ward.

* Chron. of Fossa Nuova.

years before this time he had proposed to unite Frederick in marriage with a daughter of Arragon. He had hoped that the queen-dowager of that kingdom would bring five hundred knights to Sicily, to serve in the war against Markwald; revenues were assigned her, and she was to act as Frederick's mother, bringing her daughter with her. This plan did not take effect, though a formal embassy was sent to Arragon, and the Princely pair were betrothed. Two years later, Innocent forbade the Duke of Brabant to think of offering the hand of his daughter to Frederick, as the King was already betrothed. In 1207, Innocent again refers to the matter. We find him, in 1208, writing thus to King Roger, who four years before had of his own accord acknowledged himself to be the vassal of Frederick:—‘What laziness withholds you from carrying out your agreement? We have mentioned it to you in your presence, and in our letters to you; you should do more than send a couple of galleys to the help of the young King. You once seemed to be eager for the match; you ought not to delay it. Your sister will have a noble husband, the offspring of Emperors and Kings; he is of royal blood both by father and mother. He is endowed with virtues and his years; he is passing from the gate of childhood into years of discretion at a quicker pace than usual, whence we may expect the happiest results. His Kingdom is rich and noble; it is the shelter and harbour of other realms; it will be of advantage to Arragon, and it is especially beloved by being the peculiar possession of the successors of Peter. The Bishop of Mazara goes to you for the purpose of bringing the bride. Let your sister

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CHAP. travel with proper attendance, not avoiding
 V. pense, as we trust in God that it will be made
 1194-1212. to you tenfold.' Innocent also sent a letter in
 the same style to the queen-mother, advising her to
 accompany her daughter. He wrote once more in
 1208, from Sora to King Pedro, referring to the
 bride's proposed dowry, and forbidding any further
 delay.

The Pope had much Sicilian correspondence on
 his hands about this time. The turbulent
 cellor, who had obtained the mitre of Catania,
 warned to hold in reverence his superior, the
 bishop of Monreale. But the great event of the
 year 1209 was Frederick's first entanglement
 dispute with Rome, although he was only forty
 years of age. He seems to have flown into a rage and banished
 some of the Canons of Palermo cathedral, on account
 of their refusing to proceed to a fresh election,
 after their making an appeal to Rome. 'We are amazed
 remarked Innocent, 'at the conduct of your archbishop.
 Do not usurp our office in things spiritual; but
 content with the temporal power which you hold
 of us. Beware of the doom of Uzzah and Uzziah
 who put hands on the Ark! It is quite a mistake
 on your part to think that we confirmed to your archbishop
 that privilege concerning appeals to Rome. Let
 the Sicilian clergy, of which you speak; we refuse
 on her sending ambassadors to us. Do you
 have in your reverence for Rome, and recall the
 Canons.'

It is said that Sancia, the queen-dowager of
 Arragon, claimed the crown of Sicily for her
 son Fernando, then in holy orders, in the event of
 Frederick's dying without leaving issue by her daughter.

ance.* Perhaps this union, so earnestly desired by Innocent, was so long deferred, owing to the unwillingness of the lady to take the place of a younger sister, and to marry a boy at least ten years her junior. She had already been the bride of Frederick, the king of Hungary, and had borne him a son in the year 1204, at a time when Frederick had proposed a second husband, was only nine years old. But, by the spring of 1209, all obstacles to the Arragonese alliance were removed. Constance sailed to Palermo, attended by her brother Alfonso, Count of Provence, and by many Catalan and Provençal knights. The wedding took place probably in May, amidst the greatest rejoicings. But these were rudely interrupted by the death of Count Alfonso and several other knights, owing to the violence of the air, which brought on a fever.† The young couple, driven from Palermo, visited Catania, Messina, and Cefalu: and Frederick took advantage of the presence of five hundred foreign knights, to establish his authority over all the country between Palermo and Messina.‡

In the next year, 1210, Frederick was once more in disgrace at Rome. His Queen, a very resolute lady, who had seen something of the world, had opened her eyes to the deceitful character of his Chancellor, and had caused the banishment of that officer from the court. § Walter's old shortcomings seem to have been completely overlooked by Innocent. The Pope addressed the King:—‘As you are now past childhood, you should put away childish things.

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* Zurita.

† Gianone, *Istoria Civile*.

‡ Fran. Pipin.

§ Breve Chronicon Vaticanum.

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The greater the dangers which threaten your Kingdom, the more vigorously ought you to strive, in order to avoid them. You should make a distinction between your different courtiers. The Bishop of Catania, Chancellor of the realm, has been your guardian hitherto, and has undergone many toils and sorrows in your behalf. But now, forgetful of his services, you take no notice of him. Be not surprised, if the other nobles of the Kingdom fall off from you. What has followed his retirement should teach you the folly of your conduct. Where now are the men who told you, liars as they were, that if the Chancellor should be dismissed, you would gain many adherents? We have to think, not only of you, but of the Roman Church, which is even at this moment, steadily opposing the Emperor in your behalf. Therefore, recall the Chancellor forthwith, and take his advice henceforth; let no one assault him, or we shall take it as an outrage done to ourselves.' Frederick did not obey the Pope's haughty commands, for the name of Walter of Palear occurs no longer in the Royal edicts. Innocent addressed a letter in the same year to Queen Constance, wherein he confirmed by his Apostolic authority the grant of many towns, made to her by her new husband. They seem in part to have formed the usual dowry of Sicilian Queens. One of them was Taormina, together with all the honour of Monte San Angelo in Apulia. Early in the year 1212, she gave birth to Frederick's first-born son, who received the name of Henry. The infant was very soon afterwards crowned at Palermo, and adopted as his father's associate in the Kingdom.

Although Frederick had from the time of his

little or no authority over Apulia, he had dealings of various kinds with the different churches at country. The great seer, Abbot Joachim, came to the Court at Palermo in 1200, and obtained leave to build a refuge for the brethren of his monastery at part of the Sila which adjoins Cosenza, where the pass is choked up by the winter snows. Six

later, Joachim's successor in the Abbey of St. Basil obtained a confirmation of the privileges granted to that foundation by Frederick's parents.

Innocent afterwards gave a decision in favour of the Church of Flora against some rival monks, on the ground that Frederick, whose grant was called in question, had at that time been in the grasp of William Kapparon, and that the Royal seal had therefore have been improperly used. The Church of Salerno, where lay the bones of St. Matthew and of Pope Gregory the Seventh, was taken under the Royal protection, and no stratigot or count was allowed to meddle with its possessions. The Archbishop had suffered much at the hands of the Normans, and had been borne off to an Alpine prison.

Frederick granted a bath at Amalfi, which had fallen into his hands, to Manso, the brother of the Cardinal of St. Marcellus. He afterwards, when on his way to Rome, handed over his ruinous chapel at Amalfi to the same dignitary, permitting him to use the endowments for the purpose of enriching canons and almshouses. He further allowed the Cardinal a yearly revenue of 1000 gold tarens for the maintenance of the foundation. The King made large grants of land from his forests near Maddalone for the purpose of repairing the church and other buildings of

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Monte Vergine, professing with unusual warmth his devotion to the Mother of the Saviour. In another instrument, he took the Abbot and brethren of that monastery under his special protection, endowing it with lands and villeins, to the glory of the Queen of Virgins. Balsamo, the Abbot of Cava, another of the great southern monasteries, well known to modern travellers from its picturesque situation, obtained the right of jurisdiction over the vassals of his lands, to the prejudice of the King's stratigot at the neighbouring town of Salerno. The Bishop of Ascoli had his see on the border between the Empire and the Kingdom; Frederick confirmed him in those of his possessions which lay in the latter realm, though the King afterwards found the Bishop's successors troublesome neighbours. Further to the south, the men of Pescara were forbidden to annoy the Abbot of St. Clement; Frederick hoped to settle all differences on his coming among them in person.

The Archbishopric of Bari was held in 1207 by an illustrious man, Berard of Castaca, who was the most loyal of all Frederick's Apulian subjects, and who lived to attend the death-bed of his master. The King made his first grant to this good prelate in 1209, wherein he refers to the long and faithful services already rendered to him by Berard. A year later, the Archbishop had a grant of the empty space around the walls of Bari, for the purpose of building granaries and houses, as his church required fresh buildings for its stores. Frederick bestowed privileges on the monasteries of Gualdo and Scolcola; those of the vassals who enjoyed common of pasture on the Royal domains were allowed right of way for their

by day or night. The reapers and husband-
 of the monasteries were not to be molested ;
 nothing deposited in the sacred buildings was to
 be touched with by the King's officials, unless it
 belonged to enemies or traitors to the crown. The
 Furcone was not destined to a long existence,
 castle and hamlet were given to it. Sibylla,
 queen of Tancred, had bestowed certain lands
 on the Archbishop of Taranto ; the gift had been
 confirmed by Sibylla's enemies, the parents of Frede-
 rick and it was confirmed by the youth himself
 in 1194.

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The religious foundations in Sicily, being under
 the King's own eye, were favoured at least as much
 as those in Apulia. In 1200, the Royal child
 granted the Canons of Palermo for services rendered
 in utmost need (the grant is dated a few months
 after the defeat of Markwald), and for their prayers
 for half of the souls of Frederick's father and
 mother, whose bodies were lying in the cathedral of
 Palermo. The Canons had paid much money into
 the treasury ; he therefore gave them the land of
 M. S. , the revenues of which were to be shared
 between them, and were not to be touched by their
 bishop. Thinking he had not yet done enough
 for them, Frederick granted them, seven years later,
 a mill standing on a stream in the Saracen country,
 the Kadi's mill, and allowed them to keep a
 boat for the purpose of fishing in the harbour of
 Palermo, which was to pay no duty. He added two
 prebends to the cathedral in 1210, each with a
 benefice endowment of 300 tarens, to be derived from
 the fishery. The chapter would then consist
 of twenty-two Canons. Frederick, a year later, highly

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praised Parisio, the Archbishop-elect of Palermo, for his loyalty to the King's late parents ; and for his own anointing and coronation in the cathedral, says that as it is the first church in the Kingdom, it ought likewise to be the wealthiest ; therefore grants to it all the Jews of Palermo present and future, and all the profits from the trade, two sources of revenue which had belonged to the crown. In the same year. Parisio for his church the tithes of the tunny fishes received in kind, not in money, as before. In a later charter, Frederick granted to his mother, 29,200 tarens a year, besides corn from the crown and flagons of pure must from the Royal vineyard. There was to be a special dole of alms to the poor on the anniversaries of all the Kings of Sicily from Roger downwards, and on the great ecclesiastical feasts ; the old grants were confirmed, and the selling was allowed, under threat of a severe penalty with the jurisdiction of the clergy over marriages, and the unlucky Jews. Elias, one of the Canons, a great favourite, had a grant of half a yard held under the crown by Ibrahim, a Saracen. As to the burghers of Palermo, who had suffered as Frederick says, when others were waived, they were allowed to bring their wares and produce in and out of the gates, without paying any toll, except a duty of two per cent. and one per cent. on foreign produce, depending on whether it was great or small quantities. A small tax was levied on wine and oil. The Palermitans were allowed to pasture their cattle, and to cut wood on the Royal domains. Various churches and monasteries in the capital were highly favoured.

Monreale was not far from Palermo. The Archbishop Caro had long been at variance with his sons; the King, aided by Cardinal Gerard, the legate, made peace between the disputants, in order, as he said, that the Church in question, which was the work of kings, might not perish. Caro was allowed to seize the refractory Moslem vassals of his see, wherever he could take them, even in Palermo itself; and this permission was often repeated. He might also confer upon whomsoever he pleased the goods of persons bound to defend his church, if these men neglected their duty. He might hold his courts in Palermo, and might enter and quit that city toll free; his vassals of Monreale had the like privilege.

Frederick, when six years old, granted Calatabiano the see of Messina, which had been much cherished by his grandfather Roger, and by his father Henry. In 1211, Berard, its Archbishop, was rewarded for having been lavish of his treasures and for having endangered his person in the King's service, by a grant of the Royal garden at Messina and of a tenth of the harbour dues, besides many villages. The Chancellor Walter gave so good a report of the loyalty of the Messinese in 1199, to which he himself could bear witness, that a charter was bestowed upon them, giving them perfect freedom of traffic throughout the whole of the Kingdom. A like privilege was granted to the men of Trapani. Orso, the Bishop of Girgenti, procured two grants for his see. Roger, the Bishop of Catania, had in 1200 a confirmation of certain rights which Adelasia, the Countess of Aderno, Frederick's cousin, had conferred upon the bishopric. Its mitre was bestowed

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The King William of Sicily, who was married to the daughter of the Emperor, and was the son of Roger. The King was much harassed by two nobles, namely, the Count of Palermo and the Count of Syracuse, who were both of the royal blood, and were against the King himself. They were both of the royal blood, and part of their inheritance was given to the Church of Catania. It was the request of the Bishop and chapter to make a grant of land to the Bishop of Patti. The Bishop of Patti was a man of great power, and in the year 1200 by a gift of some lands which had been held by two traitors in consequence of being a Pisan. The Bishop of Cefalu had a grant of the title of that part, and of certain benefices besides. Frederick was depicted in mosaic on the walls of this cathedral as addressing its Prelate to go to Cairo and Damascus, and question the sons of Saladin, and speak my words boldly, that you may be the better able to reform the state of the men. The King took advantage of the Bishop's absence on this eastern embassy to remove from Cefalu to Palermo two porphyry tombs, which had been placed in the cathedral by King Roger. The Bishop, on his return, excommunicated the King; and peace was only restored in 1215, on the payment of a sum of money.* The men of Calatagirona were excused 100 of the 250 sailors which they had been of old bound to supply, so loyal had been their behaviour during the troubles. The great military Brotherhoods were highly favoured. William of Orleans, the preceptor of the Templars in Sicily, procured a grant of a village for their house at Messina. He also obtained a boat at Lentini for the

* Roccho Pirri.

of the Order, and had leave to carry water through
pipe into a reservoir, there to preserve fish. The
se of the Templars at Aidone was excused a
oute of grain. The Hospitallers were taken under
especial protection of the King; they had full
re to come and go in all places throughout the
ilm; their house at Messina was freed from all
salage, and the pious were encouraged to endow
in their last wills. The goods and persons of the
ights were, moreover, protected from insult.

But there was a third Order which had peculiar
ims on a Hohenstaufen prince, and in which
ederick always through life found his best friends.
e Teutonic Order of St. Mary in Jerusalem had
en founded a very few years before Frederick's
th by his uncle and namesake, who led the com-
les of Barbarossa to the siege of Acre. This
otherhood devoted itself to the sick and wounded
ermans, who suffered from the neglect of the elder
rers, recruited as these institutions were for the
ost part from France. Frederick's father had
stered the new foundation, and his son proved
mself its steady friend. When but seven years
d he confirmed the grants of his parents to the
eutonic house at Palermo, bestowing upon it further
rivileges. Another house which the Order had at
arletta was endowed with lands near the famous
ain of Cannæ, close to the bridge over the classic
ufidus. This house had also the right of self-
isdiction. In 1205, lands adjoining the wall of
lermo, in a place called Alza, were given by the
ing to the Teutonic Order; Gerard, its master, a
an of approved hospitality and zeal, was allowed a
at; no harbour-master was to meddle with this

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bark, or with the nets of the brethren. I Frederick bestowed upon the Order the vi Tussano, lying between Salerno and Ebu knights were to have self-jurisdiction, ex criminal cases involving loss of life or limb.

Frederick's authority, as we have already seen, was at this time confined to Sicily. His power on the mainland were being overrun by an enemy, whom the Pope was unable to control. In the ten years that followed the death of the Emperor Henry VI., Germany had been torn to pieces by rival claimants—Philip of Hohenstaufen, Frederick's uncle, and Otho of Brunswick,—the former favoured by France and by the greater part of Germany, the latter by England and by the Pope. Philip was murdered at Bamberg, when just on the eve of complete success; Otho, in consequence, descended the Alps in security, and was crowned Emperor at Rome by Pope Innocent in 1208. Otho proved as hard to manage as any of the Franconian or Suabian Kaisers. He refused to give up to the Church the lands of the Countess Matilda, which for the last hundred years had been a question between the Popes and Emperors. Although he had taken an oath at his coronation that he would not wrong the young King of Sicily, he could not withstand the invitations addressed to him by the obstinate rebels, Peter the Count of Celandria and Diephold the German Count of Acerra. In 1210 Otho entered Frederick's dominions by the pass of Rieti. He was soon master of Capua and of the cities which had been placed in his hands by the rebellious Counts. He bestowed on Diephold the Duchy of Spoleto, which the Pope looked upon as his

most loyal of the continental nobles. Naples
erred to Otho, and was therefore excommu-
by its Archbishop, in obedience to a stringent
om the Lateran. The Emperor wintered at
where he busied himself in constructing
es, to be employed against Aversa and other
ry towns.*

November of this year (1210) Innocent, pro-
beyond all patience at the rebellious career
ld ally, after quoting the text, 'It repents
I made man,'† excommunicated Otho, and
d the Emperor's subjects from their oath.
was the confusion introduced into Italian
when it was seen that the Pope, the natural
the Guelf party, and the Emperor, the head
ouse of Guelf, were ranged on opposite sides.
talian cities preferred the name to the prin-
thers the principle to the name.‡ Thus Milan
l to cleave to any one who was detested by
enstaufen foes; she left the side of the Pope,
ral ally, and, having first taken up arms in
of Otho, she five years later pleaded his
the great Lateran Council. On the other

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of Guelf: she sent forty galleys to the isle of Procida, to co-operate with Otho; and was ready to aid him, just as she had once aided his enemy Henry VI., in achieving the conquest of Sicily.* Still further, Azzo, the Marquis of Este, a far-seeing statesman who two years before had become lord of Ferrara, disregarding the fact that he and the Emperor were both descended from the same Guelf stock, forsook the cause of Otho, and placed himself at the orders of the Church.

By the autumn of the year 1211, Otho had overrun all Apulia and a great part of Calabria.† He disdained the offers of his boyish rival, who engaged to abdicate his paternal inheritance and to pay much gold and silver, if only left in peaceable possession of Sicily.‡ It seems strange that the Southern Italians, who had for the last twenty years undergone much at the hands of German masters, should welcome another Teutonic invader. The Bishop of Melfi, a man of infamous character, was a warmer partisan of Otho than any other Apulian prelate; he had embraced the Emperor's cause just after taking an oath to Frederick; he was afterwards deposed by the Pope. Another Prelate, he of Sorrento, carried over his dependants to Otho and dared to celebrate mass after the excommunication of his city.§ Frederick was trembling at Palermo, and had a galley moored under the walls of his palace, to fly in the event of Otho's success.|| But before the German could complete his conquest by crossing

* Chron. of Pisa.

† Chron. of Fossa Nuova.

‡ Ann. Admunt.

§ Innocent's letters for 1212 and 1213.

|| Albert von Beham.

er into Sicily and leading away captive the King
the priests (so Frederick was called), he was
ved to hurry back into his native land, where his
pects were becoming gloomy. The Archbishop
Mayence, who had already proclaimed throughout
many the excommunication of Otho, the Prelates
Magdeburg and Trèves, the King of Bohemia, the
adgrave of Thuringia, and the Dukes of Austria,
varia, and Saxony, none of whom had ever borne
y great love to Otho, now took advantage of the
iser's quarrel with his old patron Innocent. They
nned nothing less than the transfer of the Empire
m the intruding house of Guelf back to the old
henstaufen line, which had ruled Germany for
ty glorious years before the Pontificate of Inno-
it, and the late civil wars consequent thereon.
is plan was formed at Nuremberg, where the
inces met in the October of 1211, branded Otho
a heretic, and resolved on the election of young
ederick of Sicily. The instrument, drawn up by
e worthy Germans, runs thus, in a truly national
r:—'God Almighty, seeing by Adam's fall that
ankind would abuse free will, and would become
olved in the nets of contentions, set up the Holy
man Empire, that its Lord, like a God on earth,
ght rule kings and nations, and maintain peace
d justice. After the Greek Emperors ceased to
their duty, Holy Mother Church and the Roman
ate and people, recalling the said Empire, trans-
nted its root into mighty Germany, that this do-
ion might be propped up by our stately princes,
e vigorous knights, and our most brave warriors.
e Empire without a head is like a ship in a
m without a master pilot. Heresies are spring-

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ing up, and the universal Church is being harassed. Bees are scattered, when they lose their queen; so kingdoms, if unrestrained by a bit, go to ruin. The sun is eclipsed; the world needs an Emperor to check disorders. The nations have cried aloud to God, who has awoke from sleep and bethought him of the Empire. He has inspired us, the Princes of Germany who have the right of election, to draw nigh to the throne, and to meet together in one place, as is our duty. We have been each of us examined as to his will; we have invoked the Holy Ghost and gone through all customary rites; we have all in common turned our eyes to the illustrious lord, the King of Germany and Sicily, the Duke of Suabia, as being worthy of the honour. Though young in years, he is old in character; though his person is not full grown, his mind has been by Nature wonderfully endowed; he exceeds the common measure of his equals; he is blest with virtues before his day, as becomes one of the true blood of that august stock, the Cæsars of Germany, who have ever been unsparing of their treasures and persons, in order to increase the honour and might of the Empire and the happiness of their loyal subjects.'

Such was the report of young Frederick that had penetrated beyond the Alps, and had directed the attention of the German Electors to the only surviving heir male of the Hohenstaufen line. He had already come under their notice, having, as Duke of Suabia, granted privileges to the monasteries of Tennebach and Salem. The Teutonic Order must also have been loud in his praise. The Electors resolved forthwith to open a communication with their future lord. Two brave Suabian

ghts undertook the hard task of traversing Italy
l gaining the consent of Pope Innocent and King
ederick to the intended change. Henry von
ifen stayed behind in Lombardy, to prepare the
d Imperialist cities for the expected coming of
eir Sicilian lord; Anselm von Justingen travelled
a to Rome, where he won over both Pope and
eople to the side of the proposed Emperor. He
en laid the tempting bait of the Imperial crown
efore the King at Palermo. Many difficulties
ose; Queen Constance besought her young hus-
nd not to leave her; the Sicilian nobles, who
oked with natural distrust upon anything that
me from Germany, seconded the queen's en-
eaties. But Frederick had now a successor to his
ilian realm; the proposed adventure was of the
ad most likely to allure a young and daring
ight; and he made ready for his voyage to Ger-
any.*

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* Ursperg.

CHAPTER VI.

A.D. 1212 — A.D. 1220.

'Te cæde gaudentes Sicambri
Compositis venerantur armis.'

HORACE.

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FREDERICK'S removal from Palermo to of his Hohenstaufen forefathers was so carried out. But the authorities at the Lateran demanded guarantees for his future good behaviour. The Cardinal of St. Theodore, who was Legate in Sicily, received Frederick's oath of fealty from the Pope, in consideration of the grant of the Kingdom of Sicily to its youthful possessor.*

Innocent, indeed, seems at this time to have taken all possible precautions for keeping the Emperor elect steady in his allegiance to Rome. He exacted three oaths from the boy at Messina, in February 1212. By the first, Frederick vowed obedience to the Holy See; by the second, he acknowledged that he owed his life and his realm to Innocent, and promised on that account to be more devout than his pious predecessors at Palermo. He was then to go to Rome, to profess himself in person the Pope's vassal for the Kingdom of Sicily, and to pay a yearly tribute of 1000 golden *schifati*. By the

* See the letters for 1245.

Frederick agreed to Innocent's innovation as to elections to Sicilian sees. The chapter was to elect the bishop, and the King was bound to assent.* The prelate was not to enter upon his office until the Pope had confirmed him in it.

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Frederick, granted to Caro the Archbishop of Salerno, in the same month of February, is the first in which Frederick styles himself Emperor of the Romans Elect. We may conjecture, that he was urged by his guardian to assume this new title for the threefold security, just mentioned, had been lost at Rome. In March, he grants to another of his bishops, Luke of Cosenza, all the Jews in his diocese, who seem to have had the dyeing trade in that city. Frederick hopes that they may perceive at the knowledge of Gospel truth, by the example of the servants of the Church. At this period, he searches in vain for any trace of those liberal principles which the Sicilian Prince professed towards the Jews of his life. As yet, he shows no scandalous intolerance to any of his misbelieving subjects, although it was to them that he owed a part of his crown.

Frederick was now to exchange the sunny South for the bleak North. About the middle of March he set forth with a few chosen comrades on his northern adventure. From Palermo he sailed to Salerno, where he remained a month, and was met by the Count of Fondi and the lords of Aquino. He took ship, and reached Rome in April. Here he was received with due honours by all classes ;

si requisitum a nobis præbere debeamus assensum.

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Azzo of Este and Peter Traversaro, the natives of Ferrara and Ravenna, followed by Northern nobles, had come to greet their emperor.* Still, a few murmurs were raised among the Romans of Otho's party. They contrasted the young Sicilian candidate for the Empire with the stalwart Brunswicker, who had ridden through the city in triumph only three years before. Thersites to be preferred to a Hercules, a giant, a Pygmy to a German? Frederick was so short, that he must be either a dwarf; in either case he was unfit for the throne. The Papal party allowed that their lay was small; still he was bigger than many of the emperor's children, neither children nor dwarfs.†

Frederick now for the first time saw his Pope Innocent, face to face. It was the meeting of the two greatest Italians of the century, the most renowned leaders of their respective parties. The future head of the Ghibellines knelt before the mighty head of the Guelfs. The Pope, the conqueror of the world, aided with money by the emperor, one who was to become the most powerful Prince on earth, and the wearer of man's

* Chron. Placentinum.

† Carmen de destitutione Othonis, in Leibnitz.

This takes the form of a dialogue between the Pope and Frederick.

'Sed in Fredericum

Replico. Nemo negat quin ille brevissimus; et

Aut puer aut nanus.—

Vult onus Alcide Thersites ferre, gigantis

Nanus, Teutonici Pygmæus.'

Innocent answers, that Frederick is

'Reverâ parvus, nec vero brevissimus; immo

Pluribus est major, qui nec pueri neque nani

Sunt.'

owns. The man of the present saw before him the man of the future, though Innocent little guessed that a future it was that awaited the lad of seven-
en, now all complaisance to the claims of the papacy, and content, in token of vassalage, to place his hands within those of the Holy Father.*

This Pope certainly was never guilty of a greater blunder than when he allowed his hatred of Otho to carry him over to the Hohenstaufen party. The election of Frederick to the Roman Empire, approved of by Innocent, was fated to give rise to the greatest struggle ever undertaken by the Papacy. Truly Rome here forgot her cunning! The match of 1186, which united the heir of Germany and Upper Italy with the heiress of Sicily and Lower Italy, had seemed to foreshadow the political annihilation of the Popes. By an unexpected chance, by the untimely death of the Emperor Henry the Sixth, the two crowns had become once more separated; but here is Innocent agreeing to the election of the King of Sicily to the throne of Germany. The consequence was that the false step of 1212 had to be retrieved by succeeding Popes; that Germany, Italy, and Sicily had to become a prey to anarchy lasting years; that a civil strife, unusually rancorous, had to be waged between Guelfs and Ghibellines. Foreigners called into Italy by the Papacy; the house of Hohenstaufen rooted out; executions, battles, massacres, prolonged to the end of the Thirteenth century; the maiming of the old Roman Empire, and its division amongst petty princes, instead of its ancient union under one powerful head; all these were

* Letter of Innocent IV., in 1245.

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the fruits of Innocent's policy, and of Frederick's acceptance of the proffered crown. The deposition at Lyons, in 1245, and the scaffold at Naples, in 1268, were the direct results of the adventure of 1212.

Innocent took advantage of the present moment to wrest a few concessions from his young ward. He procured a grant of some lands as additional security for the 12,800 ounces of gold, in which sum the Crown of Sicily stood indebted to Rome. When at Gaeta, Frederick had sent John Ruffo, one of his knights, to hold Rocca Bantra at the request of the inhabitants, who had undergone much in the late wars. The King was now, however, bidden to restore this place to the Abbey of Monte Cassino.* Moreover, there is extant a charter given at Rome in April 1212, whereby Frederick yielded up the county of Fondi and all the lands as far as the river Garigliano, so that the Pope might grant them to whomsoever he would, after the death of Richard, the present Count, who had previously made a gift of his lands to Rome. Three years later, Frederick says in a charter given at Spire, that he is aware that he can never display a proper amount of gratitude to the Pope for past favours; still, to show his sense of Innocent's goodness, he directs Richard, the Pope's brother, to hold Sora, Arpino, Brocco, and many other fiefs, not of the Kingdom of Sicily, but of the Church. Neither of these grants seems to have taken effect; the fiefs of both the Richards are still beyond the Southern boundary of the States of the Church. The Pope was equally attentive to his spiritual authority in Sicily; the highest in rank were not spared.

* Ric, San Germano.

Two days after Frederick had left Rome, Innocent wrote to the chapter of Palermo, ordering the removal of Parisio, the Archbishop elect, since that state had chosen to quit Rome while a lawsuit was going on concerning his election. The chapter was to choose a new Archbishop within thirty days; otherwise the Cardinal of St. Theodore, the Pope's legate in Sicily, would name a prelate.

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In the mean time, Frederick was proceeding on his journey, after having received a supply of money from Innocent. The Pisans, faithful to Otho, were on the look-out for the young pretender, but if Pisa was on one side, Genoa was sure to take the other. To Genoa accordingly Innocent applied for a convoy, and the city sent four galleys, which brought Frederick and his comrades in safety to the Ligurian coast. He reached Genoa on the first of May, and was joyfully welcomed by both priests and people. Here he had to wait for two months and a half, while his adherents throughout Northern Italy were making ready. All this time he was living at the cost of the State, which he afterwards repaid with more than 1500 pounds. He proved ungrateful to Genoa on his return eight years later, much to the indignation of her patriotic historian, who tells us that the city was the gate (*janua*), giving Frederick access to the Empire. 'He was well received from the greatest to the least; I can hardly write it, nor well he was received. We gave him money when he had not necessities.* But he certainly gave a deed to the Consuls of Genoa, among whom we find a Guercio, a Doria, and a Spinola, whereby

* Caffari; Ann. Genuenses.

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he promised, as soon as he should gain the Empire, to confirm all the privileges of Genoa, to grant certain castles to the state, to transfer to it all the Imperial authority in the district between Atrénolio and Monaco, and to pay the city 9200 golden tarens. Ogerio Pane, the Genoese annalist, took the oath on the part of Frederick, the Emperor elect pledging his soul in token of performance.

By this time the Marquess of Montferrat, the son of the well-known hero of the crusade against Constantinople, the Marquess of Este, the Count of San Bonifazio, and the Pope's Legate, had arrived at Genoa; they had already been employed by Innocent in bringing over the Tuscan states from the side of Otho. That Emperor had placed Azzo of Este under the ban of the Empire for refusing to attend the last Diet. On the 15th of July, the Boy from Sicily (so Frederick was called in the North), set out from Genoa, taking the road of Montferrat and Asti. He met with a grand reception at Pavia, where a canopy was borne over his head, according to the custom of the Empire. Great enthusiasm was shown by the partizans of the Church; the Cremonese envoys, the Pavians, and the Marquess of Este, all vowed to carry their candidate in triumph to Cremona, and thence to Rome, if need were, however sturdily Otho's friends might oppose themselves. Frederick's way was now beset with dangers; Milan to the north, and Piacenza to the south, were his declared foes, and indeed their enmity only ceased at his death. The Pavians were forced to take him by night to meet the Cremonese, to whom they handed over their precious charge at the ford of the Lambro, very early on a Sunday morning. He was but two

on his way thence to Cremona, when a fight place between his old Pavian escort and Otho's ans.* The Milanese, who had brought out Carroccio and all their forces for a battle with young Hohenstaufen, angry at having missed prey, set upon the retreating Pavians, and d them with great loss.† A warm greeting ed Frederick at Cremona, the chief rival of 1. The citizens, we are told, received the youth-adventurer as if they had seen an angel of the .‡ Nor did they ever waver in their attach- to him, and to his heirs after him. Frederick then passed on to Mantua, and thence to Verona; inhabitants of this city, aided by the Count of Bonifazio, escorted their Royal guest some dis- on his northern road, and then left him to make wn way. His easiest course would have been vel up the vale of the Adige, and so across the ner; but in that case he might have fallen into ands of Otho, who had regained Germany some hs before this time. Frederick, therefore, had rn aside to the left at Trent, and to make his as he best could with a handful of followers over rackless Alpine snows. A glance at the map how the difficulties he must have encountered e he could come down upon Coire, in the Gri-

Happily for him, all this took place in the hs of August and September. He was joined e Bishop of Coire and the Abbot of St. Gall, the men of those parts, and crossing the Ruppen sixty knights, he made his entrance into Con-

Chron. Placentinum. † Francis Pipin and others.

‡ Tolosanus.

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stance.* Had he tarried but three hours he would have lost Germany; for Otho was only three leagues off with two hundred knights, and had already sent on his cooks and servants into the town. The Bishop, who had been wavering between the two rivals, took the advice of the Abbot of St. Gall, and shut the gates in Otho's face after Frederick's arrival. Thus the star of Guelf once more paled before that of Hohenstaufen. Otho was instantly excommunicated in Constance by Berard, the Archbishop of Bari, who had followed Frederick from the South, and who acted as Innocent's Legate.†

The Guelf disbanded his army and retreated into the North, while "the child of Apulia" took the road to Basle. Here Frederick was surrounded by the local nobility, among whom was Rodolph, the Count of Habsburg and Landgrave of Alsace; the Count's renowned grandson was as yet unborn. The Bishop of Strasburg brought his new sovereign five hundred knights.‡ Frederick was met at Colmar by the Duke of Lorraine, who came fully expecting to make a good bargain for himself; the young King bought the powerful aid of his kinsman by the promise of 4000 silver marks. The first-fruits of his alliance with the Duke was the capture of Haguenaue, a strong castle in Alsace, which was always a favourite resort of the Hohenstaufen Kaisers, and which was now wrested out of the hands of Otho.§ Frederick's great-grandfather, the one-eyed Duke of Suabia, had surrounded the town with walls. Barbarossa had

* Ursperg.

† Contr. de Fabaria. Iordanus. Frederick says of himself in 1227, 'præter humanum sensum et subsidium in Theutoniā veniendū.'

‡ Ursperg.

§ Richer Senon.

the halls of its castle with a red marble pavement; had built three chapels within its circuit; he designed to keep the insignia of Charlemagne, which were afterwards, in 1209, removed

Frederick the First had also founded a city at Haguenau; his son Henry had created the city an imperial city, on account of its having become one of the Cæsars. Frederick the Second made Haguenau his headquarters whenever he was in Germany; he repaired the parish church, and established his treasury at Haguenau, whither all the towns in Alsace sent their tribute.* He soon began to distribute money among his partisans. One of his first acts was to issue an edict in favour of Ottocar, the King of Bohemia, who had been foremost in promoting the election. The faithfulness ever shown by the Bohemians towards the Empire was praised; the rights granted to their nation by Philip, Frederick's father, were recited. Whomsoever they might hereafter elect for their king, Frederick would institute. The King of Bohemia was not bound to attend any election except those that might be held at Bamberg, Regensburg, and Merseburg. Ottocar was to send 300 marks to Rome for the next Imperial coronation, or 300 marks. A grant of several castles was made to him. Two castles were also given to another Bohemian, Henry the Duke of Moravia, the brother of the King of Bohemia.

It seems strange that the business of a great monarch, the granting of charters, the pledging of the crown, the disbursement of large sums of money, was entrusted to a Sicilian foreigner of tender

* See Laguille's *Alsace*.

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years ; but we learn that Frederick was assisted by a council of seven, who were usually in attendance upon his person. First in rank came the Chancellor and the Protonotary ; the other five had each an honorary title, derived from the servile offices rendered by their predecessors to the Emperor. Thus one of them was Seneschal, another a third Master-cook, while the other two had the better-sounding offices of Chamberlain and Master of the Horse. These titles their possessors, usually Suabian nobles, were proud to bear, and to transmit to their descendants. Among them we find Werner von Bogen, who had taken the lead in making war upon the Emperor even before Frederick had crossed the Alps ; and members of the Schipf, Tanne, and Rotenburger families ; and Anselm von Justingen, who long afterwards proved unworthy of his trust. It is possible that on grand occasions they exercised the offices which they took their titles ; but their real function was to act as counsellors to their young master, who as yet knew nothing of German customs. They were sometimes called in his charters, Princes of the Empire. They afterwards performed their military offices for Frederick's sons, when those children each in his turn placed at the head of Germany at a younger age than when Frederick himself had taken the reins of government. The same office was sometimes held by more than one noble at the same time ; one Seneschal followed Frederick to Rome in 1228, while two Seneschals were left behind in Germany to act as regents.†

* Reiner Leod.

† I have been guided here by the remarks of M. Bréholles, in the preface to his great work.

The youthful adventurer was most lavish in his gifts to his new subjects. He had given the town of Bosheim in pledge to his friend, the Duke of Lorraine, but took it back on hearing of the Duke's death in the following year. He made another grant to Conrad, the Archbishop of Mayence, who had undergone many dangers and had spent much money on Frederick's behalf. This prelate had excommunicated

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Otho, and had been empowered by Innocent III. to wear the Papal dress and to ride on a white horse.* The possessions held by the Crown under the Archbishops of Mainz were at once given up to him. Conrad, the Duke of Metz and Spires, who had acted as Chancellor of the Empire under Otho, came over to Frederick, and still kept the high office. He was a man renowned for wisdom, but of expensive tastes; he was always in want of money, although enjoying the revenues of two sees.† The Bishop of Worms had done great things for the house of Hohenstaufen, and had served Frederick's uncle in Italy long before his time; he was rewarded by a remission of Imperial claims, both as to his see and as to the abbey of Lorsch. Two years afterwards, he was made Legate in Hungary, where he succeeded the Marquess of Este. Frederick, although now on the high road to success, thought it as well to secure a way of retreat, in the event of Otho's making a stout resistance. He accordingly went to Vaucouleurs on the Meuse, the frontier between France and the Empire, where he met the eldest son of Philip Augustus, the greatest sovereign of the day and the true founder of the French monarchy. The conference was attended

* Reiner Leodien.

† Alb. Trium Fontium.

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by a vast throng of Princes and knights.* 19th of November, a league was made between the Capets and Hohenstaufens; it refers to the friendship which had always existed between these houses, and makes known to us that he has engaged to make no peace with Otho, or John of England, Otho's chief enemy, without the consent of the King of France, monarch, of whose conduct Otho had complained bitterly in the spring, sealed the bargain with 20,000 silver marks to his new ally. 'shall we stow away all this money?' asked the Chancellor. 'Share it out among the knights of the Empire,' was the answer of Frederick. It need not surprise us to learn that these lords broke out into loud praises of their open-handed emperor elect.† He must have formed a strong contrast to his rival, the churlish Otho.

The young chief, who was not yet eight years old, returned from Lorraine to Mayence, where he held a Diet of the Empire, on the 13th of November. Very many of the Princes who owed him their crowns took the oath of allegiance, but Leopold the Sixth of Austria, one of his staunchest supporters, was not present; that Prince had joined the crusade against the unhappy Albigenses, and had afterwards returned from Spain, to fight against the Moslem. Now the great event of the year was to take place. Frederick went by Worms to Frankfort. On the 5th of December, he was met by the secular and temporal Electors of Germany, by the legate of the Pope and of Philip Augustus, and

* Guill. Armor.

† Chronic. San

‡ Godefr. Colon.

ghts.* All with one voice hailed the Boy from
ty as their King. Four days afterwards he was
wned in the old cathedral of Mayence by the
hbishop of that see, who officiated at the re-
st of the Prelate of Cologne. Frederick took all
customary oaths; and the nobles promised that
in the event of his death they would never
cognise Otho. Conrad the Chancellor preached
fore the countless multitudes in the church, and
nfirmed them in their hatred to Otho, whose
nister he had been, by revealing a dark secret.
made oath that the Guelf Kaiser had entertained
design of recruiting his finances by means of an
heard-of tax, to be laid upon brothels.† The
ancellor sent a full account of the proceedings at
yence to the King of France, asking him at the
e time to continue his support, for which the
mans would ever be bounden to him.

Frederick did not allow this year to pass away
hout rewarding his faithful travelling companion,
ard, the Archbishop of Bari. Reference is made,
the grant bestowed at Spire in December, to the
fastness with which that Prelate had adhered to
Crown in the time of need, and to the risks he
l run, when following his master into Germany.
derick gave him at his request some lands near
cathedral; his countrymen Walter Gentile, the
h Constable of Sicily, the Count of Loritello, and
drew the Logothete, put their names to the deed.
the Electors of Germany, who had just raised
derick to the throne, were also witnesses to the
our conferred upon the Apulian stranger; the

* Reiner Leodien.

† Ann. Reinhardtsbrunn, quoted by Schirrmacher.

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Archbishops of Cologne, Mayence and Trèves, the Dukes of Lorraine, Zahringen, and Bavaria, and the Landgrave of Thuringia, who must all have been present at the election and coronation, subscribed their names. Another faithful Apulian comrade, John of Sulmona, in the same month obtained from Frederick a nomination to a stall in the Royal chapel at Palermo. Thus worthily ended the year 1212, the most important in Frederick's life. It had been fraught with danger to him; in it were comprised interviews with Pope Innocent, perils from Pisa galleys, perils from Milanese onslaughts, journeys over rugged Alpine heights, and impending encounters with the jealous Otho. But the great event of December made up for all; little did the youth think that this very event, which seemed to raise him to the highest pinnacle of earthly renown, would be the cause hereafter of a great and fearful downfall.

In January 1213, Frederick was again at his ancestral castle of Haguenau, where he was attended by some of his archbishops and barons. In February, he for the first time traversed Suabia, the cradle of his race; as yet he had not been far to the east of the Rhine. At Ratisbon he met the Duke of Carinthia; the heroic Duke of Austria, who eight years before had rescued Constance, the reigning Queen of Sicily, from her Hungarian persecutors; and Diephold, the Margrave of Hohenburg, who became one of the most constant attendants of the Royal progresses. Frederick held another Diet, and received the oath of fealty from many who had not appeared at Mayence.* At his side might al-

* *Conr. Schirensis.*

as be remarked the Duke of Bavaria, possessing
d claims to the notice of the Hohenstaufen party,
merely as being the son of Otho of Wittelsbach,
as an old warrior who had followed Henry the
th into Apulia in 1194 and 1197. No small share of
iser Henry's sternness seemed to have descended
his son Frederick. The eight years which the
uth spent in Germany were employed by him in
versing the country in all directions, and in execut-
rough justice upon criminals, without any respect
persons. No mercy was shown to those guilty of
obbery, arson, or sedition. They were not allowed
buy themselves off; they were beheaded, broken
the wheel, mutilated, or put to various tortures.
e merchants, who could now travel in peace, were
d in Frederick's praise; the fame of the good
ginning he had made of his reign was spread far
l wide.* Throughout his life he was regarded as
very impersonation of justice; he delighted to
le himself "Law animate upon earth." His
nty to the Churches was appreciated at least as
ch as his vigorous rule. Thus at Ratisbon he
ped favours upon the famous Scotch monastery
that city. The Bishop of Trent, the Emperor's
sin, was made his General Legate in Northern
y. Frederick next visited Augsburg, where he
ated a charter to the Bishop of Coire, without
se timely aid he would scarcely have reached
stancè in the previous year. He now once more
rned to the city of the lake, and held another
towards the end of March. Many princes came
Coblentz, but Frederick could not meet them,

Richer Senon. Iste pacem firmat, et predones, quos reperit,
crenter dampnat.—*Hist. Novientensis Monasterii*.

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being too much occupied.* He bestowed favours upon Eberhard, the Archbishop of Salzburg, who was at this time one of the Papal Legates, and who never wavered in his loyalty up to the eve of his death thirty-three years afterwards. The Abbot of St. Gall and many others of the Emperor's old Swiss friends, who had brought him such important aid in the previous year, waited upon their grateful Lord at Constance.

In July, Frederick entered Bohemia for the first time, and met his lieges at Egra, a town better known as the scene of the death of Wallenstein many centuries later. The Emperor Elect was now surrounded by nearly all the heads of Germany, spiritual and temporal. From Egra is dated a most weighty instrument, tending greatly to the advantage of Pope Innocent and his successors. Full justice is done by Frederick to the services already rendered to him by Rome; obedience is promised; and the old rights long enjoyed by the Sicilian crown are ceded. Elections to the sees are to be free; appeals to Rome are allowed; and the goods of deceased prelates are no longer to go to the crown. Heresy is to be rooted out. The lands of the Countess Matilda are to be handed over to the Pope, once for all. Ancona, Spoleto, Ravenna, and many other cities and territories are to be given up by the Empire. The Golden Bull was used to ratify these important grants. Frederick also took the oath of obedience to Rome in the curious double chapel of the castle at Egra, in the presence of the German prelates and nobles, who confirmed the act of their new head.

* Reiner Leod.

in July, the Emperor Elect returned west-
visiting Nuremberg; in September he was at
gen. In the mean time Otho had been at-
the Archbishop of Magdeburg, another of
al Legates, and the Landgrave of Thuringia.
ck marched to the aid of his allies; his army
ned by the wild Bohemians, who ravaged
in a ferocious manner, and went home laden
ooty. Otho, unable to defend his country,
d to Brunswick, his great stronghold, and saw
grave of Meissen go over to the other side.
l Otho had overrun Apulia, and had threat-
ederick in Palermo; in 1213 Frederick was
waste Saxony, and was almost at the gates of
ick. Two short years had wrought a great

Very few of the Germans had leisure to
Frederick's Diet at Merseburg, in the midst of
ars.* The young conqueror had at one time
d to besiege Otho in his head-quarters; but
n was abandoned.† He kept Christmas at
holding one more Diet; on this occasion, by
ice of his friends, he had the corpse of his
opular uncle Philip buried in the cathedral,
blest specimen of old German architecture,
many of his forefathers, the Franconian Kaisers,
erred. Their tombs were broken open and
ed long afterwards by the ruthless soldiers of
he Fourteenth. Philip's body was brought to
from Bamberg, where it had lain for five years
is murder, and his nephew bestowed on the
cathedral a church belonging to him at Esslingen,
souls of the Emperor's deceased kinsmen might

onic. Sampetr. Reiner Leod.

† Alb. Stadensis.

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meet with all due attention. 'Under the old dispensation,' Frederick remarks in his charter, 'it seemed useless to pray for the dead; we, who are appointed to live in the time of grace and truth, cannot doubt but that it is salutary and necessary to pray for our deceased friends, and to aid them with alms.'

Otho, Philip's old rival, had been steadily losing ground from the time of Frederick's first appearance at the gates of Constance. The year 1213 had been most unfavourable to the House of Guelf; the following year was to put the finishing stroke to its discomfiture. Not content with the many enemies who were pressing him hard in Germany, Otho went forth to seek new foes in France. Frederick knew that Suabia and Bavaria would be his best allies in the coming struggle. He therefore took up his abode at Augsburg, in February 1214, where he was met by Albert Count of Tyrol, Frederick the Burggrave of Nuremberg, an ancestor of the royal house of Prussia, Henry von Neifen, who had once done the Crown good service in Lombardy, and by many Prelates. Ever since his arrival in Germany, Frederick had been most lavish in his grants to the Churches, and had flattered the nation by his predilection for the Teutonic Order, which was especially strong in Thuringia. The Patriarch of Aquileia, on the Adriatic, was a German; his rights over Friuli, Istria, and Carniola, were now clearly defined, and his power was extended even as far as Belluno. In June, the new head of Germany was once more at Egra, where the King of Bohemia and many other chiefs waited upon him. He endowed the monastery of Waldsachsen with peculiar privileges, on account of its barren fields and of its exposure to the inroads of

rude Bohemians. He held another Diet at Ulm, which his faithful Apulian prelate took part. Berard appears no longer as Archbishop of Bari, having been promoted to the See of Palermo. Pope Innocent III. had specially interested himself in this change, proving his Legate in Sicily for having been slow in procuring Berard's translation.

The great crisis had now come; Otho had rushed to his doom. While Frederick was at Worms in 1212, his rival had completed his own ruin. The Emperor had ravaged the lands of the Count of Gueldres and the Bishop of Liege, and had cajoled the latter into allowing him to cross the Meuse. He marched with the aid of the Count of Flanders, and further strengthened his party by wedding the daughter of the Duke of Brabant, a most fickle politician.* Philip Augustus, on the other hand, led the chivalry of Northern France against the German invaders, who were aided by an English contingent under the stout Earl of Salisbury, and by the rebellious Count of Flanders. The rivals met at Bouvines, near Tournay, on the 26th of July. The nations who fought on that day were much the same as at Waterloo; on the one side were the French, under the eye of their King; on the other side was a motley host of Germans, Flemings, and English. But the result of the battle was widely different from that of Waterloo. In vain did Otho display the courage ever shown in war by his race; he was driven off the field, leaving the Counts of Salisbury and Flanders prisoners in the hands of the enemy, who returned in triumph to Paris. Bouvines is the first great national victory of France;

* Reiner Leod.

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it heads the noble list on which are inscribed the names of Marignan and Rocroi, Fontenoy and Austerlitz.

Frederick did not give his beaten rival any breathing time. On hearing of Otho's defeat at Bouvines, he marched from Worms at the head of an unusually strong army, which included some of the Southern Princes, and he crossed the Moselle. The nobles of those parts, unable to withstand him, gave him their allegiance. He went further North than he had as yet ventured, but lost his faithful partizan the Duke of Bavaria, who was treacherously seized and imprisoned in a castle near Zolpich. An attack on Aix-la-Chapelle failed and cost many lives; but Frederick crossed the Meuse at Maestricht on the 24th of August, and was obliged to make use of the fords of the river, as the bridge was not large enough for his mighty army. He then ravaged those parts, sweeping off the cattle; and on advancing into Brabant, he was met by two of Otho's staunchest followers, the Dukes of Brabant and Limburg, who submitted to Frederick, giving their sons as hostages.* When at Worsle, he conferred Maestricht upon the Duke of Lorraine and his son, as a reward for their good services, engaging to redeem the town from its possessor by Easter in the following year. The Bishop of Liege joined him; Fauquemont was blockaded; and the Counts of Julich and Cleves were forced to yield.† The muster-roll of the Princes and Prelates attending Frederick at this time is immense.

By the 18th of September the Emperor Elect had marched Southward, and was besieging the Castle of Landskrone, standing on a hill well known to all

* Godefr. Colon. Reiner Leod.

† Reiner Leodien.

se who turn aside from the Rhine to travel up Ahr valley. This fortress had been built in 106 by Philip of Hohenstaufen, as a thorn in the side of his enemy the Archbishop of Cologne. He placed in it the kinsmen and friends of Gerichwin von Sinzig to garrison it. But the castle had fallen into the hands of Otho's partizans, and Frederick found himself unable to take it. He promised Gerichwin, praising him highly for past loyal services, the office of Castellan, and engaged to bestow other favours as soon as God should give Landskrone into their hands. Gerichwin was allowed to keep as a pledge for the promised money certain goods which Otho had granted him. This knight, and his sons after him, ever showed unswerving loyalty to the Hohenstaufens, even in the worst of times. Landskrone did not surrender until the next year, when the others followed its example.*

Philip of France, in his truce with John of England made after the victory at Bouvines, reserved to himself the power of aiding his German allies. One of these, the Duke of Bavaria, ransomed himself from his gaolers in October, having exacted a vast sum of money from his subjects, to which rich and poor alike were forced to contribute.† He now gained a new title, that of Count Palatine of the Rhine, which had before been borne by Henry, the still living elder brother of Otho. This title the Duke of Bavaria transmitted to one branch of his descendants, retaining it during his own life. The partizans of the young Hohenstaufen, as we see, were rising upon the ruin of the Guelf party. Frederick himself went to Spire to Basle, where he mediated between the

* Alb. Stadensis.

† Ann. Schirenses.

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Bishop of Strasburg and the Duke of Zahringen, and held a Diet, attended by the Archbishop of Besançon and other Prelates of the far west. He at this time granted important privileges to Humbert, Archbishop of Vienne and Arch-Chancellor of the kingdom of Burgundy, which had been inherited by Frederick from his grandmother. The Bishops of Viviers, Die, and St. Paul Trois-Châteaux, were also highly favoured. Arles was called the head of Provence and the chief seat of the Emperor; all possible powers were heaped upon its Archbishop, and its burghers were gratified by the recognition of their consuls. Indeed, this Diet of Basle, held towards the end of November, seems to have been summoned almost exclusively for the advantage of those dominions of Frederick which lay on the Rhone. He himself, unlike his grandfather, never held a Diet at Besançon or Arles, though his influence was favourable to the privileges of the French-speaking towns. One of these, Metz in Lorraine, became his headquarters later in the year, and there he made a treaty with King Waldemar of Denmark, who was allowed to hold in peace all the conquests of the Danish crown, beyond the Eyder and the Elbe, in the Slavonic country. Henceforth the Dane became a most bitter enemy to Otho, and attacked the city of Stade.* During Frederick's stay at Metz, a lawsuit between the Canons of the cathedral and some merchants of Huy was decided; the latter claimed exemption from paying custom dues, since they had houses in Metz. But Simon, the Canons' advocate, convinced the Archbishop of Treves and the Duke of Lorraine, whom

* Alb. Stadensis.

Frederick had deputed to hear the cause, that the Chants were in the wrong, since they did not leave Metz their home, and their wives lived elsewhere. The Chancellor and the magistrates of Metz affirmed the judgment.

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Another Diet was held during Epiphany 1215, and the title of King, attached to the kingdom of Burgundy and Vienne, was granted to William des Baux, Prince of Orange, and to his heir. This was probably nothing more than a mere complimentary action. Frederick then left Metz for Gelnhausen, the palace of his grandfather Barbarossa, a few fragments of which still remain, specimens of the interlacing arches of the Twelfth century. Here he confirmed a grant by the Count of Nassau of the Duchy of Wiesbaden to the Teutonic Order. Still followed by the throng of nobles, who had followed him from Metz, he rode on through Naumburg and Bamberg, where, after alluding to a gift of forty marks for planting vines made to a neighbouring monastery by his beloved cousin Theodoric, Margrave of Brandenburg, he allowed the brethren two cartloads of wood every week out of the Royal forests. By the beginning of February, Frederick had made his way through the hostile Saxon country, as far as Halle; here he rewarded the good services of the Archbishop of Magdeburg, and compensated the Prelate for his losses. About this time, as we are told, King Frederick began to be mighty in the Roman Empire, and ordered peace to be kept throughout all the land; the folk began once more to enjoy comfort, to till their fields, and to sow corn.* Peace was

Magdeburg Schoffenchronik, quoted by Schirrmacher.

also enjoined upon the higher Princes. At Augsburg, Frederick arranged a dispute between the Bishop of Passau and the Duke of Austria. Towards the end of April he was at Spire, where he made another grant to his friend Berard of all the Jews at Palermo for six years, presenting that Church with Caccabo as a recompense for its losses sustained in the cause of the Crown. In the previous year Innocent had caused the Crusade to be preached through Germany, and on the 1st of May, Frederick held a conference at Andernach with many of the nobles, some of whom took the Cross, headed by the Duke of Bavaria.* The siege of Cologne and Aix-la-Chapelle was debated, and resolved upon, that the war might be ended once for all.† Frederick then retreated for the present to Frankfurt, where the poverty of the Chapter moved his compassionate indignation, and obtained a remedy.

The long-desired enterprise was at length accomplished. Frederick left Hagenau, and took the field at the head of all the nobles of Lorraine. Aix-la-Chapelle, which had long withstood the efforts of the Hohenstaufen party, made no further resistance. The burghers, though a powerful minority dissented, wrote to Frederick, inviting him to enter their city in peace. This he did, after the bars of the gates had been broken, on the 24th of July; and on the next day he was anointed and placed in the Imperial seat of Charlemagne. No one was at this time recognised as Archbishop of Cologne by the Church party: the Archbishop of Mayence therefore took the leading part at the coronation, as he

* Godefr. Celon.

† Reiner Leod.

done two years before at the ceremony in his cathedral.* The young King fell on his face at the foot of the high altar, while the Divine blessing was being invoked upon him. He then sat on the marble throne, which had been taken out of the tomb of Charlemagne, and heard mass, an Archbishop sitting on either hand. He next made answer to the questions addressed to him by the officiating Prelate, which were translated into German, promising to do justice to all subjects of the empire, and to obey the Pope. The throng of Princes and Prelates, knights and clergy, who filled the church, were then asked by the Archbishop of Mayence if they would obey Frederick as King; they thrice shouted assent. The Sovereign was then anointed and arrayed in the customary garb; he then received the Royal insignia, and three Archbishops placed the silver Crown of Germany on his head. Then, placing both his hands on the altar, he repeated the coronation oath in Latin and German.†

On this occasion a further ceremony followed. Bruno of Xanten, and Conrad the Dean, who afterwards became Bishop of Hildesheim, preached the crusade before the august assembly; and Frederick, then only twenty years old, took the Cross; a step destined to influence the next fifteen years of his life. By dint of largesses and promises, he prevailed on several Princes present to enlist for the Crusade. Siffrid of Mayence and four other Prelates, together with three Dukes and many nobles and knights, followed the example set by their Lord.

Reiner Leod. Godefr. Colon.

† Pertz, Leges.

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On the 27th of July, Frederick heard mass. He then placed the bones of his predecessor Charlemagne in a precious reliquary gilt and enamelled, which may yet be seen in that time-honoured dome. He laid aside his sword, took a hammer, and mounted the scaffolding by the craftsman whom he had employed. He drove the nails firmly into the reliquary in the name of all the people. The rest of the day was given to sermons; the Dean of Spire was most successful in his pulpit ministrations.*

Two days later a Diet was held at Aix-la-Chapelle, which included most of the *grandeues*. The Emperor-Elect gave a charter to the burghers, in which he ranked their city as the second Empire, Rome being the first. He confirmed the privileges granted them by St. Charles, the First, and Henry the Sixth. No Imperial tax was to tax them; an illicit revenue, derived from the sellers of bread and beer, was abolished. No one of the citizens was to be summoned for trial to any greater distance than so that he could return with the daylight. Frederick, after receiving homage, gave investiture to his cousin the Count of Cambray, and annulled a charter, which the Count's flock had previously contrived to gain from the Crown. These rebels were, at their pastor's request, placed under the ban; but two months later they regained Frederick's favour. Many of the nobles of Cologne and Cambray were present at the Diet, and signed their names before the Dukes of Brabant and Lorraine.

* Godefr. Colon. Reiner Leod. Ann. Arg.

Frederick passed a month in the city of Charle-
gne, and then went to Neuss on the Rhine, where
granted a charter to the strict Cistercians of
enberg. Their prayers were entreated by Fred-
ck as a make-weight; he being fully alive to the
t, that he by himself could not obtain the mercy

Heaven, owing to his sins. The beautiful con-
tual buildings of Altenberg, which still remain,
te from about this period. In the mean time, the
chbishop of Treves and the Duke of Brabant had
ought over to Frederick's side the neighbouring
y of Cologne; Otho, who had been lurking there,
reely daring to stir out of doors, ever since the
al field of Bouvines, now made his escape into
xony.* His best friend, King John of England,
is powerless to help him, that monarch having
en forced to sign Magna Charta a few weeks only
fore Frederick's coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle.

Early in August Frederick entered Cologne, and
as well received by the clergy and people so lately
e supporters of his rival. Without their consent,
e would never have been able to hold his court in
logne; as the strong walls, built about thirty years
fore this time, which are still standing, would have
filled any feudal army. He stayed a week among his
w subjects, and made them all, gentle and simple,
ear that they would not debase the coinage,
ry unjust taxes, or disturb the peace of the city.
logne was now relieved from the excommunica-
on which had been laid upon it seventeen months
rier. Later in the month, it experienced the
ock of an earthquake.† Frederick quitted it for

* Godefr. Colon. Reiner Leod.

† Godefr. Colon.

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Metz, where he put down intestine broil strong hand.* Writing to the burghers of from St. Avold, he forbade them to l clergy. But he does not seem to have in behalf of eighty heretics, who were seize burg about this time, and who were nearly alive, after failing to prove their innocen ordeal of red-hot iron.†

Frederick sent his friend Berard to : ambassador in the great Lateran Council November 1215. Pope Innocent had as Rome 71 Archbishops, 412 Bishops, upwa Abbots and Priors, and many envoys fr and cities.‡ So dense was the throng, Archbishop of Amalfi was actually crushed. The three most distinguished men pre: Innocent himself and a few of the Cardi probably Berard, the Archbishop of Frederick's most faithful partisan; Roderick the Archbishop of Toledo, the father of prose; and Stephen Langton, the Archbishe terbury, the founder of the liberties of Eng is strange to find the Monk of Cologne that nothing was achieved at this Council the subjection of the Greek to the Latin. The truth is, that the Lateran Fathers did their seal to doctrines and opinions which been taught in the Church. The heresi Albigenes and the book of Abbot Joach condemned. Transubstantiation was defi celibacy of the clergy and yearly confes

* Reiner Leod.

† De Wendover.

‡ Ann. Ar.

§ Amalf. C

were rigorously enjoined. The publication of was ordained, and new degrees of relationship barred wedlock were instituted. Temporal ere ordered, under fearful penalties, to aid in pression of heresy.* Any person who reads ons of the Lateran Council will see that they l one end in view, the power of the priest- ver the laity; thus one more coat of white- was smeared over the fine old stones of the in fabric, already shamefully defaced by the ice or malice of those who had held it in

Council did not confine its attention to the of religion. The unhappy Count of Toulouse spoiled of his rights, although the Pope him- pt over the tale of the woes of Languedoc. ntence against Otho was confirmed; still, the se made a gallant attempt to restore their te to his old position. On the other side, the is of Montferrat declared that Otho's advocates to be denied a hearing. The Archbishop of o was also a dangerous enemy to the Guelf. Innocent, supported by public feeling, con- the election of Frederick, who had shown f such a true son of the Church by the grants at Messina, Rome, and Egra.† Thus passed his most important year, remarkable for three events — the coronation of Frederick, the of Magna Charta, and the assembling of the n divines. Of these, the first has had the ibiding results; the effects of the councils

* *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates.*

† *Ric. San Germano.*

about this time held at Eunnymede and Bonn, though dating from more than six hundred years ago, are felt to the present day in every quarter of the world.

In January 1216, Frederick was employed in the usual way, making grants to monasteries, and summing his nobles around him. The complaints of Aix-la-Chapelle were redressed, and the privileges lately granted were confirmed. The burghers of Cambrai had stolen a march upon their Bishop, while he was on his way to the Lateran Council. They had obtained a grant to his prejudice, which was now quashed in the presence of many of his Canons. On the 17th of April, Frederick, then at Spire, made Gerard von Sinzig his deputy in the fruitful country where the Moselle flows into the Rhine. On the 1st of May a Diet of the Empire was held at Wurzburg, the city of St. Kilian, at which Cardinal Peter attended as the Pope's Legate. Here Frederick invested Engelbert, the new Archbishop of Cologne, the best of all the Prelates who have ever ruled that powerful see. The installation of Engelbert, to make way for whom two prior occupants had been set aside, was confirmed by the Legate*, and Frederick renewed a grant of his father to the Church of Cologne. Moreover, on this occasion he gave up the old custom of keeping in the Royal hands the personalty of Prelates and the revenues of their churches for a whole year after the death of the last occupant. This he renounced, as he says, out of his reverence for the Crucified One, whose sign he now wore, as a vowed Crusader.

* Godefr. Colon.

rchbishop of Magdeburg, acknowledged by
ck as the chief author of his elevation, was
to coin money, and had the town of Ober-
restored to his see. Two abbesses of Ratisbon
omplaint before the Emperor Elect that their
as had been wronged in an exchange made
1. The Diet decided that no possession
be transferred from the Empire to any one
ainst the will of the chief tenant concerned.
change in question was therefore revoked,
e sentence of the Diet was confirmed for

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most weighty engagement was now entered
th Pope Innocent. Frederick, who could not
o offend this powerful but exacting guardian,
d at Strasburg, on the 1st of July, that
er he should gain the crown of the Empire,
ld hand over the Kingdom of Sicily to his
ary, and would entrust it to some deputy
ie child was of age. This arrangement was
ie said, to prevent any harm accruing to the
lic See and to his own heirs from the union
Empire and the Kingdom. The agreement,
seemed to crown the Pope's policy with suc-
as fated never to take effect. It is probable
nocent never heard of its execution, for he
Perugia only fifteen days after the date of it.
succeeded in the Papacy by a man of a very
t temper, Cardinal Cencio Savelli, who took
ne of Honorius III.* Frederick was then at
ice, engaged in fostering various Cistercian
ions, an Order whose strictness kindled his

* Ric. San Germano.

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admiration. At Ulm appeared the Margrave of Moravia, and many of the Bohemian nobles; these had just elected Ottocar's son, Wenceslaus, as their king, with the father's consent. The election was confirmed by the head of Germany, whose first cousin Catherine was the wife of Wenceslaus; and a grant of the kingdom of Bohemia was made to the young prince. Frederick was at Leipsic in October, whence he returned to Nuremberg in December. It was probably here that he met his Queen and his son, after having been parted from them for almost five years.* They were accompanied into Germany by many ladies and knights, and also by Berard, the Archbishop of Palermo; Rinaldo Gentile, the Archbishop of Capua; the Marquess of Montferrat; William Porco, the Admiral of the Victorious Fleet, as his title runs, a kidnapper and a pirate; and Hermann von Salza, who had been for six years the Grand Master of Frederick's cherished Teutonic Order. This good knight will often re-appear in the course of this work. He was born in Thuringia, in the country watered by the Salza and the Langersalza, which became the head-quarters of the national Order. No man ever did so much to advance the interests of this renowned brotherhood as Von Salza, during the nine and twenty years of his Grand Mastership. He had all the qualities requisite for his post; valour, wisdom, eloquence, and, above all, stainless honour. He was a thorough German, as true a son of the Fatherland as Luther or Von Stein. Often had he to do battle for his countrymen against insolent Templars or Hospitallers, who drew their

* Reiner Leod.

its chiefly from France. The weight of his personal character is surprising; it compelled Popes and crowned heads alike to defer to his opinion, and to seek for his approbation. Strong in his unimpeachable virtue, he could rebuke even the Lateran itself. He was the mediator equally welcome to French, English, and Germans, whose services all parties were anxious to engage; he was the knight in whose honour and thorough confidence, when men looked suspiciously upon the proffers of Pope or Emperor. Salza is the model man of the Thirteenth century; in him Frederick found a trusty friend, who did not shrink from uttering disagreeable truths, when he saw his superiors in the wrong. Brother Hermann looked up to his Hohenstaufen benefactor as the true German loyalty, such as was seldom met with in his age; we seem to be in the presence of one of Froissart's knights, or one of Clarendon's advisers.

Queen Constance had been overwhelmed by a great sorrow since she had last seen her lord. Her eldest brother, the King of Arragon, had fallen in battle on behalf of the persecuted Albigenses, the year after Frederick's arrival in Germany. She wrote a piteous letter to the Bishop of Urgel, begging her brother's death in what she considered a just cause, and entreating that his remains might receive a Christian burial. Her son Henry was probably brought to his father from Sicily, that a certain treaty might take effect, not unconnected with Frederick's last promise to Pope Innocent. What this treaty was will appear about three years later; at least Henry's rightful title of King of Sicily was fully suppressed. The two chief friends of

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Frederick, who had brought the child, were both rewarded. Von Salza had a grant of certain taxes at Brindisi for the good of his house, with which Frederick had made an exchange in Germany. The Archbishop of Palermo obtained various towns for his see, together with the land once held by Roger Achmet, the descendant most probably of a converted Saracen. The clergy of the Royal chapel at Palermo were freed from taxation, on account of the hardships which they had undergone during the King's absence. In February, 1217, the court was transferred to Ulm, where the monarch gave a village to the men of San Miniato in Tuscany, and appointed that the highway should run through their town. Further privileges were heaped upon his favourite monastery of Salem in Suabia. In April he was at Hagenau. He had sent the Abbot of St. Gall, the Dean of Spires, the Marquess of Montferrat, and the Castellan of San Miniato to Rome, with assurances of his sorrow at the death of Innocent, and of his joy at the election of Honorius. The new Pope engaged to send a Legate into Germany, and already began to remind Frederick of his promised crusade. The Emperor Elect, after a tour in Bavaria, returned westward to Coblenz by Esslingen, which dates her old walls and gates from his reign. The monks of Heisterbach, under the Drachenfels, were now allowed by him to convey their wine up and down the Rhine free from toll, a much coveted privilege.

The young conqueror was called once more into Saxony. Otho and his brother Henry, who had lost all their allies except the Margrave of Brandenburg, had been laying waste the district of Bremen, because that see had been filled by a nominee

his march was followed by its usual train of triumph of the high lords and the depression of the burghers. Thus Theodoric of Meissen on this opportunity to avenge himself on his enemies, the men of Leipsic, who had been occupying his lands for the last two years. He entered Frederick into the town with a few knights; all force came in by different gates and went to their quarters without any parade, in order to lull the suspicious suspicions of the citizens. Leipsic, like other towns in the middle ages, boasted of a bell, at the sound of which the burghers turned to war. The clapper of this was secretly carried away by the Margrave's orders, and at a given signal each one of Frederick's followers seized the bell and goods of his host. Theodoric next razed the city walls, and built three castles to overawe the town; he made diligent search for several knights who had found shelter there after an attempt upon the city.

One of these ruffians, to whose capture great importance was attached, mounted his horse, opened the gate with his battle-axe, and fled into the country; his brother was handed over to

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Nicholas, one of their body, whom he found useful. Frederick made Nuremberg his head-quarters in December.

Thus ended the year 1217, which is regarded as the beginning of the new Crusade. The surprise had been one of the great objects of the Lateran Council; Pope Innocent had proposed to himself to superintend the embarkation of crusaders at Messina. The undertaking was abandoned for a year by his death, but in the summer of 1217 the Dukes of Austria and Meran, the Duke of Bamberg, Utrecht, Munster, and others, sailed for Acre. Frederick could not as yet lead in the way to the East, his rival Otho being still contented himself with granting 200 ounces out of his Messinese revenues to the Teutonic Knights to provide the brethren with warm wool for winter wear. The Kings of Hungary and Jerusalem were followed by the Crusaders of Galilee, whence, after pillaging the country and bathing in the Jordan, they fell back upon William the Count of Holland, accompanied by many Germans who had sailed down the coast. He touched at Lisbon on his way to the East, and had done good service there with his Frisians. On reaching the Holy Land, he found that the King of Cyprus had died, and that the King of Jerusalem had gone home without achieving anything. John of Jerusalem alone remained, ready for any daring enterprise.

Frederick was for some time at Hagenau. At the beginning of 1218; he bestowed his protection

* De Wendover. God. Colon.

spital at that town, which his grandfather, his
and his uncle had fostered during their re-
e reigns. In this year the foreign influence of
ouse of Hohenstaufen was still further ex-

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The Bishop of Burgos and Fray Pedro de
a were sent by the Queen-Mother of Castile
ermany. After a sojourn of four months at
ick's court, they secured the hand of Beatrice,
ughter of the late King Philip, for their young
, St. Ferdinand, and brought the bride into
by way of Paris.* About this time, Berthold
ike of Zahringen, one of the greatest princes
many, died without issue. Frederick did not
at much for the Empire, but split up the broad
of the deceased among many claimants. The
of Kyburg had a grant of large territories in
ndy; Egeno, Count of Urach, and other kins-
of the late Berthold, had the domains allotted
n which the deceased had held in Suabia. The
of Savoy, the Margrave of Baden, the Bishop
usanne, and other powerful barons had their

Berne, Freiburg, and Soleure became free
of the Empire; while Zurich went to the Em-
himself.†

derick was probably at Frankfort when he heard
death of his Guelf enemy. Otho had sent
bassy to Rome to sue for reconciliation; he
d penitence, and was absolved by the Bishop
desheim. By his will he ordered his brother
to yield up the Holy Cross, the Lance, and
own, to whomsoever the princes should elect
uperor; and he bequeathed his stores of arms

Ann. Spirenses. Mariana.

† Von Raumer.

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to the cause of Palestine.* He died on the 15th of May, in the Castle of Harzburg, and his body was laid by the side of his parents in the Church of St. Blaize, at Brunswick, after being arrayed in the robes of royalty.† The same month which beheld the death of one Emperor gave another to Germany. On the 1st of May, a child was born to the House of Habsburg, and Frederick gratified his loyal servants by holding the babe in his arms at the font.‡ Little did he think that young Rodolph, as the child was named, would one day wear the very crown which the present Emperor had just, to all appearance, secured for himself and for a long line of heirs: that this son of the Swiss Count was destined to found one of the great houses of Europe, and to be the stem whence the rulers of Spain and Austria would proudly claim descent. Too many of them have proved unworthy of their chivalrous founder. Frederick was a good friend to his godchild; it is pleasant to mark the man of the present in close contact with the man of the future; to see, for instance, Cortez, fresh from his Mexican triumphs, giving encouragement to the unknown Pizarro; and Clive, almost on the field of Plassey, picking out from the crowd the young Warren Hastings.

It was a happy thing for Frederick that Otho was removed at this juncture, since the surviving claimant of the throne was involved in a war with one of his own partizans. Theobald, Duke of Lorraine, had rebelled and had laid waste Alsace, Frederick's own province. The monarch called to his help the Count

* See Otho's Will in Pertz, Leges.

† Godefr. Colon.

‡ Annal. Colmar. Von Raumer.

and the Countess of Champagne, who burnt
n of Nancy. He carried on the war against
friend so vigorously that he was soon able to
Theobald, a prisoner, into Germany.* With

of the Archbishop of Trèves, he had be-
ne rebel Duke in Amance, a strong castle three
from Nancy, and had driven him to beg for
On the 1st of June, Theobald was constrained
near any future strife with the French allies
rown, to render all services due from him to the
s, to renounce his league with those in rebel-
inst her, and to hand over a certain castle to
ke of Burgundy as a pledge of concord.

the Chancellor of the Empire, proclaimed
ns of peace in Frederick's presence, after
el had knelt at the feet of his lord. The
gn of Germany at that time exercised great in-
over the rulers of Burgundy and Champagne,
ld fiefs within his dominions, although they
so vassals of the French Crown. Frederick
e Duke of Lorraine into Germany as a hostage.
l to invite his captive to his table, whither
ld came unattended, except by a squire who
his cloak. The Duke was not set free until
had passed; ten months afterwards he died
aine, and an unfounded charge was brought
Frederick of having employed a harlot to
the son of his old benefactor.†

the Lorraine war, the Emperor Elect visited
towns in Bavaria. The Bishop of Basle
ned Frederick's right to establish new insti-
in that town, without the consent of its pre-

er Leod. Rich. Senonensis.

† Richer. Senon.

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late. The cause was judged by Theodoric, the Archbishop of Trèves, a prelate of great prudence, whose voice was always for peace rather than for war, and who had allied himself with the new Archbishop of Cologne, so that it was said that the two were one heart and one soul.* A Count, in want of money for the Crusade, had pledged his castle to the Bishop of Passau for 1000 marks. Frederick authorized the transaction and the conditions annexed to it, enjoining a duplicate of the deed to be made, to prevent any future wrangling. Orders were sent to Frederick's Judge at Egra, to do justice, without regard to the local courts, upon any one, high or low, who might rob the convent of Waldsachsen. In November, a Diet was assembled at Erfurth, by which Frederick's title to the Empire was established.† A second Diet, well attended, was held at Fulda, in December, where he confirmed to the Teutonic Order all the privileges he had ever granted to them. They were at this time manfully waging the war against the Moslem in the East. Another Diet with a view to the Crusade was appointed to be held at Magdeburg, early in the next year. After having held these Diets in Otho's country, Frederick returned to Frankfort.

In the mean time, the Christians at Acre had undertaken a fresh enterprise. Pope Honorius had sent to them Cardinal Pelagius as his Legate, who started from Brindisi with James, the Count of Andria, steering for Egypt.‡ For in May, 1218, the army had sailed from Acre, and had laid siege to the great city

* Gesta Arch. Trevirorum.

† Alb. Stadensis.

‡ Ric. San Germano.

Amietta near the mouth of the Nile, upon which the eyes of the whole Christian world were kept for more than three years. The Duke of Austria, the Frieslanders, and Von Salza's knights won durable mention from the chroniclers of the great guer. England, France, Germany, and Italy had contributed soldiers for the holy war. A tower on the bank of the Nile was carried with great loss; which, Adel, the brother of the mighty Saladin, leaving a fearful contest to his three sons, the sirs of Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo.* It had been agreed that some of the German pilgrims should start on the 1st of July. But on reaching Apulia, they found their further progress hindered, at which the Pope was very wroth.†

We are now in January, 1219. Frederick, who had visited Trèves and forgiven the burghers of Hildesburg some old offences, wrote from Hagenau on the 12th of the month to Honorius on the all-crossing topic. 'We know,' said he, 'that the Holy Land has more need of succour now than ever before; the army, as it seems, must either conquer or perish. We are grateful to Him who has led us to the Kingdom and to the Empire, and we are about to appoint a time for our men to assemble for the Crusade. Any prince who does not attend the proposed Diet, unless hindered by a reasonable excuse, is to lose land and honour.' Frederick went on to suggest to the Pope various means of rousing the zeal of the faithful, and to request that an excommunication might be launched against the town of Brunswick and its Count Henry, the elder brother

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* De Wendover.

† Abbas Ursperg.

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of Otho, who would not give up to the right
ant the insignia of the Empire.

The answer of Honorius was dated tw
days later. He sent a Roman prior to
and advised him to win over Henry by ge
otherwise, if the Guelf should prove obs
communication should follow. The Pope
derick and his Empire under his prote
threatened all who had taken the Cross wi
unless they should set out for Damietta on S
Baptist's day. The correspondence betwe
heads of Christendom was not renewed 1
months later. Frederick seems at this tir
been intent on gaining influence throughou
Italy, a quarter which he had hitherto negl
Bishop of Turin and the Marquess of M
after each obtaining a charter, were sent
Vicars. To Asti was granted the right of j
over its own causes. Two Lombard Coun
received a renewal of the privilege grante
forefathers by Barbarossa, of carrying the
fore the Emperor, whenever he might b
bardy. Otho's grants to a Milanese r
quashed. Bernard Orlando Rosso and an
mesan Judge were ordered to restrain S
and the Ferrarese from plaguing the
To the Bishop of Ivrea, who came to C
granted power over his fellow-townsmen
envoys from Imola besought Frederick to
charter given to them by his grandfather
and Faenza were forbidden to meddle
neighbour. Parma was highly praised,
allowed the privilege of self-jurisdiction ;
were to be carried into Germany ; and th

se to fortify itself. Cremona, Brescia, Verona, Bergamo were favoured. To each of the Counts Adrato was granted a charter. A Camaldolese on the Adige received the usual list of privi-

The Italians secured all they could, knowing nothing more could be got from Otho, and that risk was soon to start for the Crusade.

Grant was made to the Archbishop of Magdeburg of all the Pagan lands beyond Livonia; he was to be the source of all jurisdiction in those various tracts. These charters give us some idea of the wide stretch of the Empire; it now reached Revel to Antwerp, from Vienna to Lyons, from the Tiber to the Tiber. But it contained within it the elements of dissolution; at this very moment it seemed to be gathering in the South. The Archbishop of Brindisi arrived in Germany with the news that the Pope was becoming suspicious of the Emperor Elect. Germany and Sicily, so thought the politicians, were to be united in after years by young Henry. Raynald, the son of Conrad of Hohenstaufen, was allowed to style himself Duke of Apulia, a province of the Church. Clerical elections were not uninfluenced by Royalty. Such were the charges against Frederick current at Rome. He sent back the Archbishop, with orders to make his excuses, and with the announcement that he himself would soon follow. At his request, Honorius deferred the Crusade until Michaelmas, though tremulous for the result. The Archbishop of Brindisi was the only Apulian who made his way into the Emperor's camp. In May, Frederick was waited upon at Benevento by some monks from Monte Vergine, who came to obtain his confirmation of the grants

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made to their monastery. Diephold, the Count of Acerra, had been one of their benefactors. The Archbishop of Otranto also arrived, a fresh grant of privileges from the Crown. The charters bestowed on his church by the Norman conquerors had become worm-eaten. The Archbishop of Messina and Simon Courtenay appeared at court later in the year, and were received by the brave Count of Malta.

From Nuremberg Frederick wrote thanks to Honorius: 'God can reward your Father, for your kindness to us, better than your own. Your letters concerning the Crusade arrived at the right time to be of use to us, and to render false excuses which would otherwise have been made by many Princes. We request still further favour from you, of which you will not repent. Do not lend your ear to those calumniators who tell you that we are lukewarm in the matter of the Crusade. Our thought is abhorrent to our conscience.' The Hohenstaufen chief held a great Diet at Speyer which seemed to put an end to the civil war. The Duke of Brunswick yielded up the Imperial insignia lately worn by his brother Otho.* He received a grant of considerable privileges, and the question of the Palatinate of the Rhine had been amicably arranged between him and the King of Bavaria. He henceforward signed himself Frederick of Saxony, and remained in high favour until 1220. Frederick granted a most ample charter to the knights of Goslar, who had undergone much

* Alb. Stadensis.

at the hands of his enemies on account of their
ty. Every possible privilege was rehearsed, and
ferred upon the faithful citizens. Coiners, as we
by this charter, were looked upon as the worst
all public enemies; they were condemned to lose
and, unless they could redeem it by a payment
money. Frederick's favours had hitherto been
erved for churches or for princes, and the privi-
es granted to Goslar were a great innovation on
usual policy. In the next year he made Pfullen-
f a city of the Empire, in consideration of the
age it had sustained from fire and quarrelsome
ghbours.

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The Emperor Elect now went by Erfurth to Frank-
t, and granted to its citizens a site near the corn
rket for building a chapel, which he took under
protection. He passed on through Worms to
guenau, where we find him associating with him-
f his son Henry, Duke of Suabia, in various grants.
veral Italian bishops waited upon their lord in
ugust, and two men of Locarno procured from him
sial favours. Pavia was rewarded for her services
a confirmation of her old privileges. Alessandria,
ancient foe, was ordered by the Pope to take the
th to Frederick. Alatrino, the sub-deacon, whom
onius often employed as his envoy, and whom he
ade provost of St. Castor at Coblenz, appeared in
ernany with letters from Rome. The Emperor
ect returned an answer, in which he fully acknow-
ldged the right of the Church to the lands of the
ountess Matilda; Spoleto and Narni were bidden,
der the sternest penalties, to obey the Pope. Re-
oration of the lands, not as yet recovered, was gua-
nteed; the right of election and appeal was once

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more confirmed to prelates ; and the famous Egra was repeated.

In October, Frederick held a Diet at Nuremberg where he caused many of the Princes to take the oath to set forth for Palestine. The term of Michael fixed by Honorius for the enterprise, was past. But the Pope granted his friend a reprieve up to March in the following year, and exhorted him at the same time that little had as yet been accomplished, and hinting at excommunication. ' What wilt thou, my dearest son, what galleys have you made ready ? ' We had rather that you forestalled our wish than such an undertaking, instead of lagging behind. Do not sleep, but arouse others to watch. I will be in haste, noble King, to obey the King of Kings. Follow the example of your grandfather Frederick, and I will be that you will accomplish, with the Divine assistance, the work which he only began. You are young and impatient ; the more God has given you, the more will he require at your hands. The Christian host is much diminished if it be not succoured before the end of March. Send forward some at least of your army to recruit it. Up to this time, God has granted His army, but greater triumphs will follow.

What success had hitherto been vouchsafed to Christian arms, Frederick had now an opportunity of learning from an eye-witness. Leopold the Sixth of Austria, after an absence of two years, returned home, while the court was still at Nuremberg. He had distinguished himself in Egypt before the arrival of Pelagius, the Legate ; after which the Christians had crossed the Nile, seized the Sultan's camp and fleet, and blockaded the gulf of Damietta. The Germans, whose valour is

d by foreign chroniclers, drove off the Saracen of relief; and the Duke of Austria defended a e during the second onset of the Moslem, which place on Palm Sunday. On the 31st of July, ird great attack from outside was made on the tian camp, when the Templars would have been o pieces, had not the Germans and Frieslanders d to the rescue. The Christians, against the e of King John of Jerusalem, gave battle to the mmedans outside, and suffered severely, both the arms of their enemies and from the heat of un. Towards the end of September several of esiegers returned to Europe; among these was duke of Austria, who, during his stay in Egypt, made over 6000 marks to the Teutonic House, who is highly praised by the chroniclers for his om from selfishness and pugnacity; traits which urably distinguished him from most crusading t.* Had he waited a few months longer he d have witnessed the fall of Damietta; the brave em garrison had begun to suffer fearfully from e and ophthalmia; the Sultan offered nearly the e of the lost Kingdom of Jerusalem to the Chris- if they would only quit the siege of the doomed but the Legate would not hear of these terms. ngth, on the 5th of November, 1219, the Cru- s made their way over the triple walls of Da- a, and found only 3000 of the inhabitants left ; no less than 80,000 are said to have died of plague and starvation during the long siege. a booty fell into the hands of the conquerors; ildren found alive were baptized; and the Le-

* Bern. Thesaurarius.

... were turned the great mosque of Damietta into a Christian church. The strong Castle of Tannis was taken in the same month, being deserted at the approach of the crusaders.* Honorius had sent them large sums of money, and had informed them that Frederick would come to their help after his coronation in the kingdom of Sicily. The German prelates were provoked, and denounce all who delayed the performance of their vows. Frederick was at Nuremberg at the time of the capture of Damietta, attended by the King of Bohemia, the Duke of Austria, and many princes and princes. It might be thought that Frederick was no longer any excuse for delaying his departure, as Germany was at peace with itself; Otho, however, was content to act as Frederick's vicar in the Empire, an office which he held up to his death eight years later. After bestowing a most ample reward upon the loyal city of Nuremberg, and visiting the Pope, Frederick ended the year 1219 at Angers, where he lay with his son Henry. Six officials of the Kingdom of Sicily were in attendance upon him, as his journey into Italy would evidently soon take place.

In the beginning of 1220 he saw within his reach the attainment of an object which he must long have had at heart, and for which his old friend Pope Innocent would probably have excommunicated him in the spot. He was at this time doing all in his power to make the name of his son familiar to the German princes, giving him the title of Ruler of Burgundy, besides the Dukedom of Suabia, and associating the boy with himself in grants to the

* De Wendover.

ous churches. He returned to Hagenau in early, wintering there for the last time for many year. Here he brought to an end a question which was about to sunder the members of the house of Hohenlohe, his faithful friends. Their father had been rewarded by Henry the Sixth with fief lands in Italy, and had been named as guardian of Frederick's guardians.* The family now consisted of five brothers and a sister. Two of the brothers, Godfrey and Conrad, determined to cleave the world, and to win renown in the Emperor's service; the three others chose to enrol themselves among the knights of the Teutonic Order, who had been among the foremost at Damietta, and to bestow their lands on the Teutonic Order. Frederick confirmed an agreement which the Hohenlohe brethren had made with each other in the presence of the Bishop of Speyer. Various exchanges of property were made and ratified; the chief anxiety of the brothers leaving the world was that their sister Cunigunda, a minor, might make a suitable match. Shortly after this, Frederick took under his protection the village of Matton, close to Interlaken, and its estate Grindelwald, at the request of Werner, the advocate. It was settled that the advocate of this village was not to make his lucrative office here — a privilege which the grasping nobles of the region were apt to assume. On the 10th of February Frederick renewed to Pope Honorius his promise of donating the Crowns of Germany and Sicily. He ordered that he has already, after the arrival of Alatrino, sent off the Dean of Messina to Rome, and has

* Voigt, Prussia, for 1244.

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entrusted other matters to the Archbishop of
Taranto. But he requests a slight change in the
terms of his oath. He has already gained leave to
hold Sicily during life, in the event of his son's
death. He now hopes to have absolute dominion
over the Kingdom reserved to himself during his
life, asking, with much plausibility, who would be
more grateful, more faithful, more devout than him-
self, if his request should be granted? Alaricus,
it is observed, has been most resolute in standing
up for the rights of the Pope, and can tell how the
grateful Frederick intends his son to be suckled at
the breast of the Church.

The Pope is then informed of the efforts made for
the Crusade at the late Diet of Nuremberg, which
had hitherto produced no great results. 'We fear,'
says Frederick, 'that if we start first, our followers
will find some pretext to stay behind. This will
entail a little delay, which you must grant. God
knows that we are planning no trick: we have
caused the knights to swear that they will follow us,
and we have made many truces between enemies,
that the Crusade may be forwarded. We are sending
two messengers to prepare you for the coming of
the Abbot of Fulda, our ambassador. He will
explain to you and to the Roman senator and people
our devotion to the Church, and our wish that peace
may be kept in the city.'

The last part of the letter, the original of which
is much mutilated, clearly refers to Frederick's in-
tended coronation as Emperor. He excused himself
to Honorius for writing to the town of Fermo, as
though it had been a city of the Empire, not having
known that it belonged to the States of the Church.

morius made a somewhat surly answer to his
end's request for one more respite before starting
Damietta. 'He who loves much, fears much,'
and the Pope; 'we therefore fear delay in succour-
ing Palestine. You are now asking for a fourth
respite: a criminal is pronounced contumacious who
neglects to appear after three citations. We will
leave you to the 1st of May. Consider, consider
whose cause it is that is at stake?—that of Christ.
Whose advantage?—that of his followers. Whose
honor?—that of the whole Christian people.
God is inciting you to the work—first, by past
victories, in raising you to your present height;
secondly, by miracles, having granted that strong
city of Damietta to a handful of Christians; thirdly,
by examples, since the poor and weak, as well as
the noble, have embarked in the enterprise. Then
arouse yourself, mighty King, for we hope that God
will bestow a great victory. Gird your sword upon
your thigh; be powerful in humility; be humble in
power; trust not to your own arm, but to the hand
of the Most High.'

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Another letter came to Frederick from Parenzio,
a Roman Senator, written in the name of the whole
Roman people. 'The letter sent to us by your Serenity,
when read in the Capitol, rejoiced the hearts of us
all. Your worthy ambassador, the Abbot of Fulda,
has told us how you are disposed to cherish the
Roman Senate and people: we beseech the Most
High to continue this disposition in you, when you
are raised to the Empire. We are all longing for
that happy day, when we shall hail your coronation.
You warned us to obey the Pope, and to set an
example of devotion to the Christian world. We

THE POPE are resolved to bind ourselves to the Roman Church, which has been founded in the city, not by man, but by Jesus Christ himself: it is our special honour, and we are its special bulwark against foes. We will take care that peace be kept at your command.

Honorius answered Frederick's letter a few days after Frederick had sent off his despatch. The Pope says he takes no exception to the Abbot of Fulda as an envoy, though it certainly had been usual for an Emperor to send an Archbishop, or at least a Bishop, to Rome on a similar errand. Frederick again wrote, excusing himself for having thrown Regnier of Marburg into a German prison. This Count was an old enemy, whom the Pisans had been ordered to seize when he was sailing to attack Sicily. Though the rebel had come into Germany without a safe-conduct, Frederick professed himself ready to release him at the Pope's wish, upon Regnier's giving up his Sicilian estates.*

We have now come to the famous Diet of Frankfurt, held in April 1220, which crowned all Frederick's schemes. It was prefaced by the usual list of Imperial favours. The Bishop of Verdun had a charter bestowed upon him; to the Archbishop of Cologne was given the charge of the Church of St. Servais, at Maestricht, which boasts a long list of Hohenstaufen grants. The Bishop of Utrecht was authorised to remove his custom-house to a more convenient spot. The Provost of Aix-la-Chapelle had neglected his duty: the windows of

* It is odd that the mild Honorius should have taken such an interest in ruffians. In England, he interfered on behalf of Falk de Breauté.

Church, the books, the workshops, were all out of repair; a certain proportion of the contents of the alms-box was allotted to supply all that was wanting. The vine-dressers of Sinzig were warned to be exact in the payment of their tithes to this church. The monastery on Marienberg, near Boppard, was taken under Frederick's protection. His journey to Rome was arranged, and all marked with the cross, whether high or low, were forced to set out for the East.*

But more weighty business was in hand. Frederick, young as he was, had for the last eight years been working hard to gain the hearts of the German princes. He had been most lavish in his bounty to them, and he now hoped to reap the fruits of his many grants, charters, and privileges. He had appealed to the self-interest of these men, who, according to that shrewd observer, the Abbot of Ursperg, loved and hated all justice, coveted each the riches and honours of his neighbour, and did not shrink from murder. In spite of all his promises to Innocent and Honorius, Frederick was obliged to unite the Crowns of Aix-la-Chapelle and Germany in the person of his son Henry. His own motive of the election of the child by the German princes is this:—the Archbishop of Mayence and the Landgrave of Thuringia had long been at enmity; they came to the Diet at Frankfort with all their forces, and a civil war seemed at hand. The other princes swore that they would not stir from the place until terms of peace had been agreed upon. No progress was made in soldering up the quarrel; and

* Reiner Leod.

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all men feared that it would break out afresh, after Frederick's departure for Rome, now close at hand. Hereupon all the princes voted the election of young Henry to the throne, those who had before withstood it now taking the lead. Frederick declared that he had not had the least idea of what was going on—an excuse which his Holiness probably received with a shrug of the shoulders. The youthful Emperor, though only five-and-twenty, was indeed a pupil worthy of Pope Innocent.

The chief Princes present at Frankfort were the Archbishops of Mayence, Cologne, Treves, and Magdeburg, several Bishops, the Dukes of Bavaria and Brabant, the Landgrave of Thuringia, the Margraves of Namur and Baden, the Counts of Holland and Cleves, and the officials of Frederick's court. Conrad the Chancellor, Bishop of Metz and Spire, was appointed Imperial Legate in Italy, and was sent forward as the harbinger of his Lord, with full power to place all rebels under the ban of the Empire. The Princes all joined in a declaration of their allegiance to the Church, and of their objection to any union between the Empire and the Kingdom of Sicily. On the 26th of April, the boy Henry is styled King for the first time, in the charter which his grateful father gave to the Electors. Frederick says, that the authors of his promotion ought themselves to be promoted; he therefore did away with certain old abuses. The instrument runs thus:—'First, we will never hereafter seize upon the goods of any deceased Prelate; any layman infringing this rule shall be outlawed. We will preserve the old coinage and tolls in the lands of the Princes; no innovations shall be made without their consent.'

not receive their serfs into our cities. The
s are not to be damaged by their advocates.
make no attempt to wrest lapsed fiefs from
tics. Those whom they excommunicate
out of the pale of the law; no advocate
allowed to such. Proscription shall follow
unication, if the latter sentence has lasted
six weeks. The Princes on their side pro-
aid us against our rebels. No castles are to
on church lands. None of our officials are
fere with the rights of the Princes, as to tolls
age. We bequeath to our heirs and suc-
the duty of maintaining these privileges.'

was the edict, which in its practical effect
up the old Germanic system; other later
of Frederick completed the work. The
now became in reality independent; even
ck himself lived to see Germany slip away
s grasp. At this very time, the French no-
re being by degrees subjected to the crown;
many on the other hand the Princes, as we
re becoming more and more independent of
wn. France became compact in itself, and
before one despot; Germany was split up
any states, under many despots. Even
h of Habsburg could not bring back the old
; none of Rodolph's descendants made any
ttempts towards enforcing the ancient Im-
erogatives, until Charles the Fifth essayed,
ed. By that time the Reformation had sun-
Germany; the sword of Wallenstein for a
t enforced unity and submission to his master,
moment soon passed away. Richelieu and
the Fourteenth ravaged the divided Empire

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at their pleasure; it saw a kingdom within itself start up; and Napoleon put the last stroke to the work of disruption in Germany. In these latter times, we know not whether most to be amazed at the baseness of the German princes, or at the tameness of the German people. The nation, heroic in 1813, was feeble in 1854 and 1859, thanks to its rulers, the parasites now of France, now of Russia; the old worn-out Empire has been replaced by another system, powerless, as it seems, for good and mighty for evil. Strange it is, that Philip Augustus should have been laying the foundations of French union, just when Frederick the Second, intent on a temporary advantage, was beginning the work of breaking up Germany.

Some attention was now paid to the great cities. The money of Nuremberg was no longer allowed to be coined in imitation of that of Ratisbon. The faithful city of Worms had a most ample charter. To Henry, the new Duke of Lorraine, was granted a fief, which the late King Philip, Frederick's uncle, had first bestowed; to this sixty waggon-loads of wine were added. The Count of Gueldres was forbidden to take toll at certain spots on the Lower Rhine, in accordance with a sentence passed by the Princes in the Diet; he persevered however, as many subsequent edicts against him prove. The Archbishop of Cologne was to enforce this judgment. The Canons of Verona had a decree made in their favour. The merchants of Dortmund were freed from toll throughout the Empire. The affairs of the Hohenlohe family were at last settled. Such was the business, which occupied the attention of the famous Diet of Frankfort. Frederick, having at length compassed his

at end, spent the month of May at Haguenau
Spire.

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Towards the beginning of that month, Honorius, still as yet ignorant of the late proceedings at Frankfort, wrote to his chaplain Conrad, a scholar of Mayence, then in Germany. He exhorted him to stir himself, to keep an eye on the preachers of the crusade, and to urge on Frederick. If the monarch would not himself start for the East, he might at least aid on his comrades. None were to be absolved from their vows, since even the poorest men might be of use in Palestine. A month later, Honorius ordered Alatrino to receive the resignation of the Countess Matilda's lands, and also bade the Archbishop of Mayence procure the freedom of Regnier, since the Count's Sicilian usurpations had been reversed. Frederick was to be reminded of his promise to set this enemy at liberty. About the middle of July, the Emperor Elect was roused by the news that the Pope was by no means pleased at having been tricked by the Frankfort election. Frederick writes thus to Honorius:—'We have heard that the Church is dismayed at the exaltation of our son, and that she blames us for not having denounced his election, either before or after it took place.' He then gives his version of what had taken place at Frankfort, saying that he was not answerable for the choice of the Electors; he had insisted on the election being ratified by Rome. 'It is arranged that one of them should seek your presence. However, most blessed Father, you will hear the whole from ourselves, when we come to you; or your chaplain Alatrino will inform you. The Bishop of Metz was sent to you, but he is

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detained on his way by some illness. We care to prevent the union of the Empire ; we should give the latter, in our death without lawful issue, to the Church than to the Empire. We will make no fault in coming to you, our Father and Lord.' Then mentions two out of many causes, hitherto kept him in Germany. Egen Urach, backed by his brother the Bishop, has not furnished the stipulated quota of money for the Crusade ; many in Alsace followed this bad example. The Count of Flanders, after marrying the widow of the late Duke of Brabant, has seized upon a fief of the Empire from a foreigner, to the consternation of the princes ; however, this difficulty being settled, he is ready to start on his journey. The Emperor, a few days afterwards, wrote to his Legate in Rome, announcing to the heroes of Damietta, that they would sail for the East at Michaelmas, a glorious hope. He also sent various sums in aid of the Crusade, which seemed now to be on a stand-still.

Before taking a long leave of Germany, the Emperor spent a month at Augsburg, the old place where Emperors usually set out for Rome. He assembled his son Henry the new King of the Romans, the King of Bohemia, the Duke of Moravia, the Duke of Meran, the Archbishop of Mayence, Treves, and Magdeburg, and the Bishops and Counts, besides those nobles who followed their lord into Italy. The Abbot of Clugny, who had helped Frederick to the crown eight years before, died on the eve of

me. He had maintained the honour of the
 rn Empire at the Eternal City, by preventing
 ronation of the Latin Emperor of Constanti-
 at St. Peter's, and by refusing to rise up to
 Such were the Abbot's talents for civil busi-
 at all the most difficult questions were reserved
 s judgment. His successor paid Frederick
 hundred and fifty marks to be excused the
 . journey, saying that the air of that country
 urbid.* The Emperor put forth many edicts
 e welfare of his dominions. One monastery
 eed from a troublesome advocate, who acknow-
 l in Frederick's presence the injustice with
 he had treated the Church placed under his
 e. A castle and town were given in pledge to
 rchbishop of Magdeburg for a loan of 2000
 s. A toll, levied upon those who crossed the
 oe by the bridge at Donauwerth, was abol-
 ; and Frederick determined to replace the old
 en bridge by one of stone. Collectors were
 lingly sent out under his protection, to gather
 lms of the charitable for the work in hand.
 r was transferred to Gelnhausen. Jane, the
 ess of Flanders, had a former adverse decision
 sed, as she had been prevented by reasonable
 s from pleading her suit before Frederick. The
 t of Holland was forced to give up the lady's
 which he had unjustly held. The Pope, who
 y this time pacified, sent orders to the German
 es, that no one should dare to trespass on Fre-
 k's rights. Egeno, the turbulent Count of
 h, was enjoined to set out on the Crusade

* Conr. de Fabaria.

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without delay, and Honorius expressed his joy that Constance, Frederick's wife, was to share in the honours of the coronation.

Late in August the Court broke up from Augsburg, and Frederick once more crossed the Alps, after having spent eight years in Germany. He had come thither with a handful of followers, and had been in peril of his life while stealing along passes in the mountains scarcely ever trodden by the foot of man; he was now returning into Italy, the most powerful Sovereign in Europe, surrounded by the Princes and Prelates of Germany, who were proud to follow their young Hohenstaufen lord to his coronation. The most conspicuous of these was Berthold, a brother of the Duke of Meran. This German had become in succession Archbishop of Colocza in Hungary, and Patriarch of Aquileia in Italy. He had accompanied his sister Gertrude, who was married to the King of Hungary, into the land of her adoption. Aided by her, he had perpetrated a ruffianly outrage upon the lady of a Magyar noble; the injured husband had taken his revenge upon the foreign queen by assassinating her.* These crimes, committed in 1213, have left a lasting stain upon the memory of Berthold; with the record of them before us, we can scarcely take into account the sturdy loyalty he displayed towards Frederick for thirty years, even when under the frown of Rome. Besides the Patriarch of Aquileia, who was employed on the road as a judge in contested suits, the Duke of Bavaria, the Bishops of Passau and Augsburg, the Margrave of Hohenburg, Raynald the titular Duke

* Contin. Prædicatorum Vindobonensium.

poieto, and Anselm von Justingen, were in the arch's train. His son had been left behind, and the care of a trusty guardian.

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On the 3rd of September the Emperor Elect was at Bozen, to the south of the Alps, where he resided in his tent the Bishops of Brixen and Trent, Albert, Count of Tyrol. At Verona he was met by the Podestà and his own notary, with good news

from Rome. When on the banks of Lake Garda, he ordered the city of Asti to blot out from its records all statutes which might prejudice the Church. A proctor of a nunnery at Verona waited upon Frederick, and obtained a charter for his clients. The inhabitants of Sirmio, 'the gem of peninsulas and islands,' were taken under the *mundiburd* of the imperial protection. When near Mantua, the Emperor Elect had his first dealings with a lad who was bound to cross his path many times in the course of his life, Azzo the younger, the Marquis of Este. Frederick refers in his charter to the services rendered to him in 1212 by the father of this youthful knight, and then gives a strict charge to the Podestà and ambassadors of Padua, who had come out to greet their sovereign, that they should refrain from molesting the heir of Este, and should rebuild his ancestral castle in the style he might direct. Frederick also invested with his golden sceptre Jordan, Bishop of Padua, confirming him in his temporal privileges; and the Prelate, in return, swore fealty to his lord on the Gospels and relics. Peter Ziani, Doge of Venice, had sent Dandolo and another envoy to greet the Emperor Elect, who was naturally anxious to court the alliance of the Lord of Croatia, Slavonia, and a large part of the old Greek empire.

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The Doge is styled Frederick's dearest league is entered into by the two towns subject to Venice are enumerated dress of outrages, and the surrender of stolen property, is promised on either Venetians are freed from paying throughout the Empire and the King for murder and other crimes are returned, the Doge promises a yearly tribute pepper, and a robe.

By this time Conrad, the German Emperor, rejoined Frederick near Mantua. He had some trouble in procuring from this restoration of the lands of the Countess threat of excommunication had been held Conrad had been slow in setting forth on a second letter from Rome had reproved the Emperor for his shuffling conduct. Conrad was especially busy in Romagna: Frederick sent another legate into Tuscany, through which that time meant to pass. Everard of was appointed to the office, with as full powers over cities and nobles as the Emperor himself wielded. On the 24th of September, Frederick, at the request of Honorius, quashed all the laws by the cities throughout Italy to the prejudice of the Church, declaring that heretical depredations were the source of this obnoxious legislation. Italian bishops had by this time joined Frederick and were witnesses to another edict for the advancement of his Holiness. The sons of Albert Count of Palatinate were placed under the ban, for having given up the Castle of Gonzaga to the Palatines, although mild measures had been

these nobles. The two Chaplains were invested the lands so long hotly debated, and all the s were ordered to take the oath of fealty to the n Church. Ever since the beginning of the xenth Century, the Papacy had been extending nporal power, and its policy seemed now to be ed with success.

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the 1st of October, Frederick, then at Spilim, released the Bishop of Padua from the burden llowing him to Rome, on payment of fifty marks. Two days afterwards the Royal train n the Reno, the western boundary of Romagna. Bishop of Como and others were sent on as rick's messengers to Honorius, with a letter their employer, couched in a most dutiful strain. xfers to the vast amount of business which had ed him in Lombardy and prevented him from ng a more proper embassy. He is grateful to hurch for her favours—'she will not repent of ug begotten and cherished such a son. We are ning to the feet of your Holiness: soon will ave the desired fruit from the tree which the ch has planted.' Frederick pitched his camp Bologna for a few days, and made acquaintance the turbulent Romagnoles. A month before ime, the Chancellor had relieved the Bolognese the ban, under which they had been placed for misdeeds. He had also ratified a peace made een Imola and Faenza. The district was there- in the enjoyment of quiet, to which the Ro- noles were unused. Embassies from all the t cities in Italy came to wait upon Frederick, eing rival claimants for his favour. To this the oese had an undoubted right; for it was their

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galleys which had convoyed him across their city which had sheltered him, at his rival Otho was still in possession of. They requested a confirmation of their rights but from some unexplained reason Frederick refused to have viewed the Genoese with dislike scarcely grant them those rights which as depending on the Empire; those concessions in Sicily were altogether abolished.* (However, that a charter given at this period to the Genoese is still extant, who praising their tried valour, he grants them licence over the whole coast from Porto Venere with licence to build a castle above the city. He counts upon them, in case of a war or a crusade against the Saracens, on this errand, they were to be protected by their powerful neighbours. They also obtained the privileges belonging to self-jurisdiction. In this, the Genoese annalist will have it, that the Genoese trymen were ill-used by Frederick. They wished them to send ambassadors to be present at his coronation; they refused, saying that it was their custom, and that their senate must not consent to such an innovation. He was angry, and drove away the Genoese envoys as if they were strangers; but his more politic Chancellor, Bishop of Metz and Spire, wishing to atone for the rudeness of his young Master, paid no less frequent visits to the tent of their Podesta.† Frederick had undergone another rebuff in his progress, and a great wish to be crowned at Monza,

* Caffari; Ann. Genuen.

† Caffari; Ann.

ers had been, with the iron crown of the Lombards; but the Milanese, in whose possession it was, refused his request 'with round mouth,' to use the expression of their chronicler.* Frederick never gave this and sundry other offences of these insuburgers.

He now left Bologna behind him, and marched onwards with his little army. After investing the town of Bobbio, he was met by the envoys of Faenza, who gave him 1500 silver marks and abundance of provisions; in return, he released the townsmen from the ban under which they had been placed. On the 15th of October he granted them a charter, which allowed them to garrison a certain castle and a trench, the fate of this stronghold should be decided. He then went on to Forli, where he displayed one of his worst features of his character; for, notwithstanding his late charter, he turned back, and demanded the castle and trench, granted so short a time before to Faenza. The garrison ran off just in time to escape capture by their Forlivese enemies, who had persuaded Frederick to break his word to Faenza.† The wronged city ever afterwards displayed peculiar hostility to his person. All this time charters were being freely bestowed; one of them granted to the abbot of Sassena is remarkable for its sanctioning a custom, directly contrary to the old feudal laws which obtained in England, mercifully devised for the extinction of slavery. It set forth that if any monk of that monastery should marry a free woman, the offspring of the marriage must remain in thralldom. In the mean time, the Chancellor and the Count of Turin had been sent back to keep peace

* Galvaneo Fiamma.

† Tolosanus.

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in Lombardy. An exchange of lands, made many years before by Markwald, Frederick's old persecutor, was ratified by the Emperor Elect, when he was not far from Rimini.

In November, the Pope sent to his promising pupil two envoys, Nicholas the Bishop of Tusculum, a subject of the Sicilian crown, and the chaplain Alatrino; they were charged to point out the danger resulting from the union of the Empire and Sicily under one head; Honorius having an uncomfortable conviction that his young friend had outwitted him in this matter. They were commissioned besides to sharpen Frederick's zeal against the Paterines, and to add that if the Crusaders in the East were to be succoured at all, their brethren must cross the sea directly, under the Emperor's guidance. Honorius, moreover, ordered his Legates to have the capitularies ready, sealed with the Golden Bull, to be published on the very day of the coronation. He was determined not to be tricked by any more evasions. Frederick, as usual, promised everything; for Honorius wrote to the Cardinal at Damietta that help was coming in March next year.

The 22nd of November, 1220, was one of the proudest days that Rome ever saw. The young King of Sicily, after having regained the crown that had been worn for seventy years by his Hohenstaufen forefathers, knelt before the Father of the Christian world, an old man almost on the verge of the grave owing to bodily ailments and decaying strength.* He was in San Lorenzo, beyond the walls, that Honorius had a short time before crowned the Latin Emperor

* 'Erat corpore infirmus ex senio, et ultra modum debilis' Ursperg.

the East ; but the present ceremony took place in the old Basilica of St. Peter, the church which had survived through many destructive mischances since its foundation by Constantine, and which was to stand for nearly three centuries longer. Romans and Germans, Guelfs and Ghibellines, clergy and laity, for once were all united. The Roman populace, usually so uproarious, were now silent in their acclamations. A bloody fight between the Romans and the Germans had disgraced Otho's coronation, but nothing now occurred to mar the festivities in honour of Otho's rival. They had indeed promised Frederick, some time before this, that they would maintain peace on the occasion, and would faithfully obey the Pope, with whom they were at variance. The 'Illustrious Senator and People' kept their word ; they did well to enjoy the height of the present ceremony ; for this was almost the last time that a Pope would crown an Emperor at Rome. The old state of things was passing away, and a new era was about to begin.

The order, used at the Roman coronation of Frederick's father, is still extant, in the hand of Honorius himself. Even Henry, that terrible Emperor, descended, as we there see, to kiss the feet of the Pope, and to present his shaven chin for a return to the greeting ; to undergo a catechism in his religious belief, turning chiefly upon the Athanasian Creed ; to wear the priestly dress, to kneel before the relics of St. Peter, and to receive the ring, the sword, the crown, and the other insignia, at the hands of the Holy See. He deigned also to hold the stirrup for the Pope, and to ride behind him through the city, followed by the Empress ; his place at the en-

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suing banquet being at the Pope's right hand.* If these ceremonies were rigorously exacted from the haughty Henry the Sixth, it is not probable that any omission of them would be allowed in the case of the deferential Frederick the Second.

The dignitaries of the Church had each his appointed office in the ceremony. The Cardinals and Prelates stood around their Lord; among them was Innocent's nephew, Ugolino, the Bishop of Ostia, Frederick's evil genius, holding the cross which the Emperor had sworn to assume. The Archbishops of Mayence and Ravenna, the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Duke of Bavaria, Conrad and Obizzo Malaspina, Azzo of Este, and William of Montferrat, had come in their Kaiser's train. There were also present many Bishops and envoys from Northern and Central Italy, who were waiting upon their new Lord. Besides these, there were some of the great nobles from Frederick's own maternal realm: the Abbot of Monte Cassino, Roger Count of Aquila, Richard Count of Celano, and James Count of San Severino.† The Count of Conversano arrived with 300 knights in his train, some of whom were Castellans and Vavassors.‡ Such were the men who surrounded the Emperor and Empress; some, doubtless, clad in the long flowing robes of that period, reaching down to the feet; others in their armour, wearing the close-fitting, flat-topped helmet, which showed but little of the warrior's moustached face; having their arms and legs cased in chain-mail, with the tunic coming down to the knee; girl

* The order of the Roman coronation is set out in Petz, *Leges*, II.

† Ric. San Germano.

‡ French Manuscript, quoted by Huillard Bréholles.

an unusually long sword of the time, and bearing a long narrow triangular shield. Men arrayed in this fashion, the contemporaries of Frederick's may be seen sculptured in effigy under the archway of the Temple Church in London. The insignia of the Holy Roman Empire were all present, the Cross, the Sword, the Sceptre, the golden Apple with a cross on it, the golden crown, studded with precious stones, and surmounted by a crest.* This last was placed by the Pope on the head of Frederick, and then on the head of Constance. Mass was performed immediately after the coronation; the lighted candles were extinguished, and the Pope excommunicated all heretics and their abettors. Frederick took the cross from the hands of Cardinal Ugolino, and vowed that he would sail to the rescue of the Crusaders in the following August, engaging to send off previously 500 knights on the holy errand in March. He recommended the three military Orders in the most earnest manner to the Pope.†

Honorius knew very well that it would be dangerous to combat the creed of Mohammed in the East, and that it was to be allowed to take root in the West. He was himself the mildest of men, still, as a persecutor of Paterines and Albigenses, he trod closely in the steps of his predecessor Innocent. He seized the occasion to prove to the world that on this point the Pope and Emperor were of one mind. On the very day of the coronation, Frederick put forth his nine Edicts, which were to be published

se, and their uses, are described in a poem by Godfrey of St. Remy, written about thirty years before this time. See his Letters for 1221.

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throughout the Empire. In the first, he declares null and void all statutes and customs which are against the freedom of the Church and churchmen. All future offenders against this decree are to be denounced as infamous, and their goods are to be confiscated. In the second, he forbids any taxation of churches or churchmen, under the penalty of threefold restitution. In the third, he places under the ban of the Empire any one who has remained for a year under the excommunication of the Church. In the fourth, he forbids plaintiffs and judges to bring Churchmen before the civil power, though the reverend suitors are not to be denied their legal rights. In the fifth, he denounces as infamous, and confiscates the goods of, all Cathari, Paterines, Leonists, Speronists, Arnaldists, Circumcisi, and all heretics of either sex. In the sixth, he orders all civil magistrates to take an oath that they will purge the land of heretics; the abettors of false doctrine are to be outlawed; and this is to be enforced against judges, advocates, and notaries. In the seventh, he denounces penalties against wreckers, whatever be the local custom to the contrary. In the eighth, he protects the rights of pilgrims, and makes the local Bishop guardian of their property, if they die intestate. In the ninth, he forbids any invasion of the goods of the tillers of the soil, and protects their oxen and implements. This last clause reminds us of a certain provision in our own Great Charter, which only preceded these constitutions of Frederick by five years. The Emperor at once sent his new laws to the University of Bologna to be inscribed on its rolls.

It was not to be expected that an occasion, on which envoys from nearly all the cities of Italy were

should pass off without a single disturbance. the Ambassadors of Florence, dining with a l, asked his entertainer for a hound, which he house, as a present. Next day the Cardi- a dinner to the Pisan envoys, who had come e in a well-furnished galley, attended by fifty and whom Frederick had welcomed most dy, it being an unusual honour.* The host, ng that the hound had been already bespoken, to one of the Pisans. The Florentine, how- t the start of the Pisan, as it happened, in for the dog, and therefore kept it. The et in the streets of Rome, and abused each the two embassies took up the quarrel, and rentines were worsted, as the Pisans had sol- t hand. The latter wrote home to lay an o on all Florentine wares at Pisa ; the order ried out, and a long and bloody war ensued a the two chief cities of Tuscany. Malespini, rentine historian, declares that he heard this rom some old countrymen of his who had . Frederick's coronation. A small spark like s quite enough in that age to set all Italy in a 'The Devil took the shape of a dog,' says illani, 'as we see by the mischief that fol-

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orius exulted in the territorial influence ac- by Rome, in return for bestowing the crown derick. In the presence of the Emperor, the vested Azzo the Marquess of Este, then a mere g, with the Anconitan March, using a banner ceremony. The patrimony of St. Peter seemed

* Croniche di Pisa.

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now to be secured. The Pope had Castellans of his own not far from Bologna. Peace was enforced upon the quarrelsome Umbrians, who were at war from Narni to Foligno, Honorius having already summoned the Podestas of Central Italy to resign their strongholds to him at Orvieto. A Cardinal was sent to act as the deputy of Rome in the Duchy of Spoleto, which was coveted by a certain German, who had followed Frederick to Rome.* The Holy See was at length, as it seemed, in possession of the Countess Matilda's bequest. But what had been easily gained might be as easily lost.

The Apulian barons, who were present at the ceremony, had brought with them great numbers of war-horses as gifts to their King. Many of these Frederick gave to his German subjects, who were now about to return to their own land.† The Bishop of Metz, the Duke of Bavaria, and more than 400 German and Apulian barons, together with a vast number of knights and common people, had taken the Cross for the ensuing March; and Honorius sent the cheering news to the sorely-pressed Christian host at Damietta. He also despatched Conrad of Mayence, his Penitentiary, into Germany, to stir up the flagging zeal of the faithful. The Crusaders had now greater need of reinforcements than ever, since many of their comrades had returned home. Von Salza seems to have obtained leave of absence, for he was with the Emperor at Rome. Happily, the Moslem Sultans had made no

* See a letter of Honorius for 1221.

† Reinerius says that 2000 of these *dextrarii* (detrriers) were brought, of which Frederick gave away more than 600.

ward movement since the check received by them
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Soon after his coronation, Frederick encamped on Monte Mario, whence he could overlook the whole of the glorious city, from his lofty post on the other side of the Tiber. Here the young Emperor was overwhelmed with business. The Archbishop of Genoa, the Bishop of Ivrea, the Piedmontese nobles, and the city of Turin, all claimed his attention. Count of Este procured a charter for a Benedictine monastery on the Po. The Abbot of Borgo San Sepolcro obtained privileges and protection against his neighbours. Pistoia was granted a charter, and the Podesta received investiture. Tortona was favoured in a similar way. The Bishop of Bologna showed himself most courageous in the Emperor's service, and was accordingly well rewarded. The Count of the same city received high compliments for his loyalty, which did not last long, as Frederick afterwards found to his cost. The Ubaldini, a famous Florentine house, gained important privileges. The Count of Poggibonzi, a Tuscan village, made a present to the Emperor, and agreed in future to pay eighty marks silver to the Castellan of San Miniato, and to lodge the Emperor and Empress once a year. In return, the Count was released from their subjection to Siena and Florence. A castle was given in pledge to Asti for a loan of 1800 marks. Pagano, the Bishop of Terracina, coming to Frederick, was called an illustrious Prince of the Empire, and was allowed to exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction in his diocese. The Abbot of Ravenna obtained a confirmation of the possessions of his monastery.

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But sterner duties had sometimes to be performed. Ugolino, the Bishop of Ostia, had already placed Parma under an interdict for outrages committed against her Bishop and clergy; the Cardinal now requested the Emperor to apply the secular arm. This Frederick did on the 25th of November, after taking the advice of the Princes of the Empire then at Rome, who were all named in the decree pronounced against Parma. On the previous day he had granted a charter to the Pisans, in which he praises their services to his forefathers, and omits to mention their enmity against himself in 1212. He confirms all their possessions, among which Elba and Corsica are reckoned; their jurisdiction is to extend from Civita Vecchia in the South to Porto Venere in the North, the Genoese boundary. Frederick used his sword in the ceremony of investing the Pisan envoys with their new privileges. This Tuscan city from henceforth became the great stronghold of the Ghibelline cause, never wavering in her loyalty to Frederick, and to his son and grandson after him. She had still sixty-four glorious years before her.

On the 25th of November, Frederick had moved off to Sutri, about twenty-five miles to the north of Rome, and here he remained six days. He gave remarkable powers to his faithful Chancellor Conrad, the Bishop of Metz, as Imperial Legate in Italy, and he took under his protection the five Palatine Counts of Tuscany, the sons of Count Guido Guerra, giving them many privileges. Early in December the Emperor, making a long circuit, marched by Narni to Tivoli, and thence to San Germano. He met with a royal reception on gaining the bounds of his beloved King-

after an absence of eight years and a half.*
 had already prevailed on the Abbot of Monte
 ssino, while at Rome, to restore Rocca Bantra to
 Crown, a fort which had been the cause of a dis-
 pute between Pope Innocent and himself in 1212.
 sent forth his edicts to every part of Germany
 and Italy; but a letter from Rome came to remind
 that after all he was not the undisputed master
 of the latter country. It is dated on the 11th of
 December, and we see that even after the coronation
 of Frederick's great concessions to the Pope, there
 had been a slight dispute between the two. 'We do
 not think that ever Pope of Rome loved Empe-
 ror more heartily than we love you, as we hope to
 live to you, with God's help, hereafter. If any-
 thing has gone wrong as regards the supply of pro-
 visions on the road, it is not our fault; since when
 we were approaching Tuscany, we sent Alatrino,
 who is entirely devoted to you, with our orders that
 he might be provided with necessaries readily.
 All we must remark that, according to the express
 treaty, within the States of the Church purveyance is
 subject to the direction of the deputies of the Pope,
 not of those of the Emperor. Moreover, the districts
 of the Maritima and the Campagna owe no service
 by law, as they are not usually liable to be disturbed
 either on the Emperor's way to the coronation, or on
 his return. Still, if Emperors on their expeditions
 against Sicily have exacted the same service, it was
 done by might, not by right. It was not our duty;
 but in order to show our special love to you, we
 charged the Cardinal of St. Angelo, the ruler of that

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* Ric. San Germano.

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district, with the care of seeing that necessaries in every place should be delivered in sufficient quantities. After receiving your letter, we repeated our order to him.'

Both Honorius and Frederick seem to have been satisfied with the bargain made at Rome; the former had secured immunity for ecclesiastics, the lands of the Countess Matilda for the Church, and the services of the Emperor against heretics and Moslem; the latter was well pleased to be acknowledged both as Emperor and as King of Sicily. More than this, Honorius sent a letter to the Prelates in the Kingdom of Arles, Frederick's third realm, directing them to give all the aid in their power to the Marquess of Montferrat, whom the Emperor had just despatched from Rome to act as his Vicar in those parts. It was hoped that the Marquess, a man of approved Catholic principles, would promote the cause of religion, which was confronted on the Rhone by the Albigenses. Conrad, the German Bishop of Porto, no friend to Frederick, was also directed to give his aid to the Marquess, who would need the support of the Pope's Legate in Germany. In the mean time, the Bishop of Metz went as Frederick's Legate into Northern Italy, and appointed Everard of Lutra to act for him in Tuscany.

CHAPTER VII.

A.D. 1220 — A.D. 1227.

* *Hunc saltem everso juvenem succurrere sæclo
Ne prohibete!*—VIRGIL.

FREDERICK had left Sicily a lad of seventeen, who had been merely a tool in the hands of wily states, and the laughing-stock of marauding barons. He returned to Sicily a man of six-and-twenty, the possessor of a daring enterprise, holding the highest moral dignity known in the world, and aware that France and England were bidding against each other for his friendship. He had added his father's empire to his mother's Kingdom; he had had much experience in courts and camps; and he knew himself to be a match either for priests or warriors, having learnt craft from the one class, and promptitude from the other. He was now to pass almost eight years in his Kingdom,—a period spent by him with two distinct objects in view: first, the Crusade in which he had enlisted; secondly, the regulation of Sicily and Apulia. These two projects were always running counter to one another. Honorius held that a King's first object ought to be the glory of the Kingdom, and the rescue of Christ's Sepulchre from unbelievers; Frederick thought that a Monarch's efforts were due to his own people. The Pope

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kept pointing to Jerusalem and Da
Emperor was not disobedient, but still l
back on Capua and Palermo. Hence we
the time between 1220 and 1228 into
the preparations made by Frederick for
and the measures adopted by him for the
of his dominions. We will take the la
of the subject first.

The great bane of the Kingdom of Si
excessive power of the nobles, who ma
each other without scruple, built cast
licence, seized on the Royal domains, a
the right of criminal jurisdiction. They
men of old Norman blood, partly Ger
turers who had obtained grants of lan
from Frederick's father. Other honours
had been conferred by Pope Innocent ; h
full use of his prerogative as feudal I
Kingdom. The Genoese and Pisans held
grasp several towns on the coast, an
the Royal sway. Moreover, the weste
Sicily was peopled by Saracen tribes, ev
rush down from their mountains and p
Christians of the plains. The comme
fered much from the quarrels of the
looked forward to a ruler who would ho
with a firm, steady hand ; and such a
found in Frederick. Peter, the old Count
had died the very year of his Sovereign
for Germany ; but many other veteran d
the peace survived, not to be kept in
by Queen Constance, the Regent, or b
Gregory, the Pope's Legate at Palermo
years later, Innocent had deposed the

ate Cassino for dismantling that convent, and had
 caused Roger of Aquila, the new Count of
 di, to swear fealty to the absent King. But in
 very next year this Count and John of Ceccano
 e engaged in a bloody strife; during which upon
 occasion 424 persons, men and women, young
 old, were burnt alive in a castle.* The Counts
 Molise and Teano waged open war in the Abruzzi.
 Bishop of Teano was guilty of the vilest out-
 rage, yet hoped to retain his mitre by bribing the
 papal Legate.† The Crusaders traversing Apulia
 e robbed and murdered. Count Regnier, as we
 e already seen, had perpetrated horrible butcheries
 in Sicily. No wonder that the Commons looked
 forward to the coming of one, who alone could bridle
 the turbulence. ‘No man now dares to put his
 foot in iniquity,’ says Frederick in a charter given
 on his return, ‘we will introduce justice into all
 things subject to us.’
 His reputation had gone before him. The Count
 Alesina, unwilling to face his young master, had
 fled with eight galleys for Damietta.‡ The Count
 Molise, unable to gain Frederick’s favour, had
 shut himself up in Magenul, while the Countess took
 refuge in Boiano amid the Appenines. On the
 other hand those two almost impregnable positions
 on the border, Sora and Rocca d’Arce, surrendered
 to their liege Lord. He enjoyed a further triumph;
 he found an old enemy awaiting sentence at Capua,
 who had been the bane of Southern Italy for nearly

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* Chron. of Fossa Nuova.

† Letters of Thomas of Capua, given by Bréholles.

‡ French Chronicle, quoted by Bréholles.

Senator ; he had however escaped by bribes, only to be seized again in 1218 by of Frederick ; Diephold's own son-in-law San Severino, had effected this capture. Th was now, in 1220, brought up for judge the host of Germans in Frederick's train look unmoved upon the sad plight of o name was so associated with the son of E and with the German conquest of Sicily. intercession, and on his brother Siffrid's to give up certain towns, Diephold was se was however deprived of his honours, v given to another ; Thomas of Aquino Count of Acerra, and also Grand Justice Terra di Lavoro ; this chief became one of lieutenants ever employed by the Crown the uncle of his namesake, the great Schoc was born a few years later. The lords henceforth enjoyed much of the Empe dence ; and other able ministers were for Morra and Cicala families. Before the next year, Frederick contrived to get rid man who had been the plague of his

; where twenty Assizes were enacted. One great object of this institution was, to restore to the Crown the services, which the nobles were bound to yield, which had become obsolete owing to the troubles of the last thirty years.* Again, very many Charters were annulled, which had been drawn up in defiance of Frederick's title to the sovereignty; he fixed upon the death of King William the Good as the latest date of undoubted prescriptive right. Any privileges granted by Tancred the usurper, or by Otho the elder, or any improperly bestowed by Markwald, Arnold, or Kapparon, were condemned as infringements on the Royal authority. It was not to be expected, for instance, that the public acts of the city of Naples should recognise Otho as reigning even up to the Lateran Council. For a whole year after the new Court had been set up, Charters granted to Bishops, Abbots, and Corporations, were being sent for revision, and this inspection seems to have been renewed in later years. These strong measures had been contemplated by the Emperor, even before entering Germany. All noblemen, who did not come by a certain day, were held to have forfeited their fiefs; and various grants, that had been extorted by fraud in the old times, were revoked. Some nobles, who did not bring forward their privileges on the appointed day, were much injured. All these measures were taken by the advice of a famous lawyer, Andrew Bonello of Barletta.† The nobles, from that time forward, were in general estranged from Frederick's government; like their Norman brethren

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* See the Charter to Monte Vergine, in 1222.

† Giannone; Istoria Civile.

in England in the course of the same century, they were not taken by the sword, rather by the long-arm. These men, as we see by the subsequent charters, were no longer taken from the monasteries: their castles were destroyed. Richard the brother of the late King, and son of Simon and Cardinal Stephen, was taken from Eborac. Ranee, Sessa, Teane, and Eborac were taken from the Count of Flanders. There were laid on the clergy; and Frederick began to meddle in the elections to vacant sees and rebellious Prelates: he asserted that he was bound by Innocent's compact, since he had married with a woman. He complained of the Papal excommunications during his minority, and recurred to the privileges of the Scottish Kings: 'How long will the Pope abuse my patience? How long will he set to his ambition? He ought to respect the majesty of the Emperor; I would rather lay down the Crown, than lessen my authority.' *

Frederick, however, who could not as yet afford to break with Honorius, wrote to him in March, protesting against the suspicions of his Holiness, that the privileges granted to the Church were in danger, owing to this new institution of the Capuan Court. 'Our father,' says Frederick, 'granted away too large a portion of the Royal domains; many of the title deeds by which they are now held are forgeries: the Realm was in danger of ruin, and we have, therefore, ordered all privileges to be brought before us. You may be sure that all the charters

* Ric. San Germano.

† Fazelli.

emand shall be sent to your Paternity.' About the same time, Frederick allowed the Jews to dwell in Apulia, on their making a yearly payment of eight ounces of gold to the clergy of the See of Canusinopolis. One of the first things he did, after the death of the Countess Matilda, was to order two of the Court of Capua, was to order two of them to refrain from harassing a Church at Marone. His legislation certainly aimed at strict immorality.

In Capua, after confirming to the Pope the rights of the Countess Matilda, and after bestowing privileges on Monte Cassino, Frederick passed on to Naples and Salerno; he made to the Archbishop of Salerno the usual grant of Jews and their rights, and protected the neighbouring Abbey of Monte Cassino, allowing vassals to place themselves under its protection. He then took his way across the mainland, and, for the first time in his life, Foggia, Trani, Brindisi, and Taranto, whence the Germans, who had followed him to Rome, set sail for Dalmatia; they bore to Von Salza the news of many Imperial grants to his Order. Frederick at last returned over to Sicily, and held another Court at Palermo, in which he enacted laws against dice and blasphemy. Jews were to be distinguished by their dress from Christians. Harlots were ordered to dwell all outside the walls of the cities, and were forbidden to use the public baths when honest women were there. Buffoons were placed beyond the pale of the law, and might be wounded or robbed with impunity. Frederick stripped the Genoese of all the privileges enjoyed by them at Syracuse, whence they had driven the Pisans; Genoa had now to pay dues to the Sicilian custom-house, like any other state; her Ad-

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miral barely escaped from the Emperor and another of her citizens, Count Alam, himself obliged to yield up his authority of Syracuse.* The vexation of the G doubtless heightened, on seeing their receive a Charter shortly afterwards. Messina, Frederick confirmed Hildebrand Palatine of Tuscany, in all his rights, e those appertaining to the city of Gros this nobleman the Aldobrandeschi de lineage. After visiting Catania and Calat Emperor in July was able once more t 'the happy city of Palermo,' the official capital. His long exile in bleak Germ last over ; he must have rejoiced to find more within sight of Monte Pellegrino, the gardens of La Cuba, and to feast his far-famed Conca d'Oro. The faithful Palermo had, according to the edict of Capua, brought before Frederick the C to them in his name when he was a ba now confirmed. Many Abbots and Prela to comply with the rigorous edict, the Flora being alone excepted from its pro charters seem to have been regranted holders, after careful inspection. Knig have seen, were forbidden to harass the on the other hand we find an Abbot r taking more than his due from certain and the rebuke had to be repeated. Chapel at Palermo had received many from Frederick, when in Germany, to

* Caffari ; Ann. Genuenses. Ric. San Ger

ant dignities on persons named by him. Two years before, he had given to Brother Gerard the charge of a hospital for lepers in the capital, which was open to all; Von Salza was to have the power of appointing the future masters of this institution, as his Order had been founded mainly to alleviate poverty and disease. This grant Frederick afterwards confirmed, when at Taranto. The magistrates of Palermo were complained of by the Teutonic knights, and were in consequence sternly forbidden to molest them. These knights now obtained from Frederick a yearly pension of two hundred ounces of gold, charged on the Brindisi revenues, to buy white cloaks.

Italy seems to have remained at peace, under the protection of its Lord, but it was far otherwise on the mainland. Even before Frederick's coronation, the sons of Count of Celano had broken out into civil war, as we learn from the letters of Thomas of Capua, a born subject of the Kingdom, who became a Cardinal. He had besought Frederick to pardon the offenders, acknowledging at the same time that it would be unsafe for the Emperor, if he sailed for Palestine, to leave behind him the turbulent Count of Celano, the son-in-law of the deceased Peter of Capua. The Count had, in vain, sent one of his sons to implore Frederick's mercy. Richard, the new Count of Celano, had gone on a like errand, but had been one of the spectators of the coronation.

Some of the youthful burghers of Capua were eager to serve the Crown, in order to have a pretext for avenging private wrongs. The good Count of Celano wrote to the Celano brethren, warning them that the ruin of their house would be a heavy

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blow to the Kingdom. It was folly to riches which Peter, their prudent father, quired. It was a shame for brother to hand against brother, and the Countess sh better than to stir up these broils. He sen letter to Frederick, imploring mercy fo turbers of the peace. The Emperor show ungracious, and the war in the Abruzzi on throughout the year 1221. The Cour was abetted by the Count of Celano ; made a truce between themselves, the mo combine against the Crown. Thomas, th Acerra, was endeavouring to suppress t Boiano, Celano, and Magenul, were be burnt, taken and retaken.*

In January 1222, the Emperor quitted the mainland. He was accompanied b the Bishop of Tusculum, the Legate of of the great Sicilian House of Chiaramo Cardinal consecrated in Frederick's pr Cathedral of Cosenza, at the request of Luke, and on the next day walked blessed the cemetery. Luke was reveren been the chosen secretary of Abbot Joa cerning whom the Archbishop had mu how the aged Seer had forced the Emp rick's mother, to go down upon her kne was hearing her confession ; how he had all his garments to the poor of Calab dreadful winter of 1202, the year of The Emperor was now to make acquai

* Ric. San Germano.

† Cardella.

‡ Ughelli, in his account of Cosenza, gives Luk about Joachim.

greater than Joachim. Early in this year, St. Francis had started from Rome on a mission to Southern Italy, which he traversed, founding convents and working miracles at every step. He came to Bari, where he met the Court, and preached against the vices of Frederick and the nobles. It resolved to try whether the Saint carried out his teaching in his own practice. He was invited to the Court, and was afterwards subjected to a practical test, wherein a courtesan played the chief part. A fiery shield with which, according to the legend, St. Francis protected himself, put the temptress to flight, and Frederick, who, with his courtiers, had been peeping through the chinks into the room, acknowledged the miraculous powers of the man of God, begged his pardon for the insult, and spent some hours in discussing spiritual things with him. The tower in which the interview took place retained the name of the tower of St. Francis.* While the friar was making his pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Michael on Monte S. Angelo, the Emperor, attended by the Margrave of Brandenburg and the titular Duke of Spoleto, passed on to Salerno, Naples, and Capua. He visited the Pope, and on his return begged the monks of Casamara to remember him in their prayers, and entrusted his conscience to their Abbot. Feudal services were exacted from the churches on account of the civil war which was raging. Frederick gave counsel to the Count of Provence, then engaged in the siege of Magonia, and after bestowing a reward on the Bishop of Marseilles, who had waited on him, he was recalled to Sicily by a more

* Wadding, for 1222.

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serious danger than that of the Al Saracens of the West, who had always trouble to the Archbishop of Monreale out and were ravaging the plains, aided their own and of the Christian faith. W Frederick's old Genoese Admiral, w doomed by his master to a prison, was a side. Henry, Count of Malta, was emp them, but, not having troops enough und he was forced to retreat before them, and time fell into disgrace with Frederick already been implicated in the disgrace of Damietta to the Saracens of the E occasion the Count was thrown into deprived of the government of Malta able, however, to make a good defence duct, and was accordingly set free; b possessed of the Castle of Malta, which in the hands of the Crown.* Frederi been joined by Conrad the Burgrave berg, and by some Teutonic knights, i field himself; he seems to have been months before the Castle of Giato, i At last he defeated the Saracens. A erected at Palermo, upon which he ha and the same time their Emir Ben Al two children, and the foreigners, William Hugh de Fer, a pirate from Marseilles peror forced the wild tribes, which h flown to arms at the call of Markwal had prepared to welcome Kaiser Ot down from their mountains, and to c

* Caffari; Annal. Genuen.

† Alb. Triur

as, although many still held out in their fastnesses, and were not thoroughly tamed until four years later. Not satisfied with this, Frederick decided and executed a master-stroke of policy; he converted the Arabs from harassing foes into the most useful of allies. He transported 20,000 of the best, all able-bodied men, to the mainland, and he settled them at Lucera, in the broad plains of Campania, famed from the earliest times for its breed of warriors. Frederick emptied this city of its Christian inhabitants, to make way for the men of the East; the Cathedral was turned into a Mosque; he built a citadel only half a mile from the city, and fortified its circuit with fifteen towers. The castle of Lucera, one of the largest in Italy, may still be seen; the great central building was properly Frederick's palace and treasury; it is flanked by two bastions and two circular towers, showing the influence then for the first time introduced into castle architecture. But no trace now remains of the great armories, arsenals, and workshops, built for the use of the new colony. In Sicily, where they often were succoured by their brethren from Africa, the Saracens were a source of danger to Frederick; in 1217, they became his best soldiers, and were not deterred by any superstitious awe of the Church from attacking the Pope himself. They are said to have committed fearful havoc in the Capitanata. The Emperor excused himself for employing them by saying that he was driven to wage many wars, and that the souls of Moslem were surely of less consequence than those of Christians, since the Moslem must be shed. As yet the Pope had to rest satisfied with this excuse. Complaints came from

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Girgenti concerning the transportation of cens ; that Bishopric had previously been harassed by their incursions, and at this time almost beggared by so many of its vill forcibly removed from it. It was now classic ruins than in worldly possession Bishop Orso had, for thirty years, taken part in Sicilian politics. He had been a part of the usurping King Tancred ; he had afterwards been seized by the Saracens, with whom in those days the Bishopric swarmed. They shut him up until he had paid five thousand golden tari for his ransom. This Prelate came before the Court at Palermo, and proved by witnesses sworn on the gospels, that his Church had lost its old privileges. Certain revenues were in consequence granted to it, and Frederick, coming to Girgenti in November, endowed the Bishop with various privileges after praising him highly in the charter he bestowed, ' considering that this Church had been beggared by persecution, and that we had given seven thousand tarens from it.' The ruins of Girgenti, which had fallen into ruin through to the long exile and captivity of Orso, were rebuilt by his successor, Rinaldo of Aragon. It had been profaned by the Saracens, who had installed themselves in it, drove off the inhabitants and people, and would not allow children to be brought to the font. In 1228, we find the Pope ordering the transfer of a brotherhood from Girgenti to the house of an Arab, named Mohammed, who had probably been banished to the mountains.

* Rocchus Pirrus.

† Greg

By October 1222, the Saracen war must have been much abated, since the Emperor had leisure to visit Calabria and Messina. He granted the request of the brethren of the Abbey of Ferrara, whose charters had been torn up by a former Abbot, 'instigated by the goadings of the Old Enemy.' The seal of the Emperor Henry had been broken, owing to the carelessness of its keeper, as appeared at the Capuan court; Frederick therefore granted a general confirmation to the Brethren of Ferrara, with leave to make an aqueduct. The Canons of Cefalu were recommended to the Pope's notice.

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In December, Frederick crossed to Apulia, where he was joined by some of the returning German crusaders. Von Salza was at this time in Italy, having witnessed the ruin of the Crusade; he had long before this obtained from the Emperor the grant of a house in Sachsenhausen, the suburb of Frankfurt, with the gift of two daily waggon-loads of dry wood from the neighbouring forest. The Teutonic Order was now still further favoured by an imperial edict, which declared that no one entering the Brotherhood should be liable for any debts previously incurred by him; these must be discharged by the heirs of his worldly goods. Frederick received Hermann, the Grand Master, at Precina, where the court was; this was a castle which had been given up to the Emperor by the Abbot of San Giovanni in Piano in the previous year. It stands at the foot of Monte Gargano, in the country where Frederick loved to follow the chase. It is now called Precina, and tradition tells of a supper given on the spot by the Emperor, after the death of a huge

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boar.* While in Apulia, Frederick conduct of some men, who, even after issued from the Capuan Court, had laid goods of the Monasteries; Monte Ver especial sufferer by this violence, which sternly forbidden. The Emperor zealous for ecclesiastical interests in provinces; he at this time commended of the Burgundian nobles the church of at Besançon, where some of his kinsmen buried.

In January 1223, Frederick, being summoned by many of the Princes of Germany, issued a decree for the benefit of that country, which was then under the care of Engelbert, the good Bishop of Cologne. Loud complaints were made by the Count of Gueldres, who was taking tolls from travellers on the Rhine, in defiance of the sentence passed at Frankfort; he was warned to desist. The Advocacy of the Archdiocese of Hirschau had come into Frederick's hands, which he promised never to alienate. Herman, Bishop of Cologne, besought the Emperor to confirm the rights of his Order, which was highly praised for its services in the late Crusade, and for its tender care of the poor and sick.

The Court removed from Precina in January; the Princes of Germany continued to attend their Kaiser; among them were many high officials of the Empire. The Archbishop of Magdeburg, having been lately appointed

* The name was certainly written Precina in the 13th Century.

in Northern Italy, appeared at Capua. Con-
shop of Hildesheim, who had done much for
ade, obtained a public sentence from the
or, that no official of the Empire should
a deputy, or dispose of property, without the
of the Prince his lord. Another sentence
en, that no Prelate might alienate the lands
hurch, or grant them as perpetual fiefs, unless
one of those who received his insignia from
peror himself, and bore a shield in the Im-
service.* The Bishop of Marseilles came to
to obtain a confirmation of his privileges.
ovost of St. Servais at Maestricht came on a
and, and moreover obtained a ruined build-
the use of his Church. At this time, Frede-
court was crowded, not only with Prelates
he Rhine and the Rhone, and with nobles
orthern Italy, but also with still more illus-
strangers from Palestine. They all followed
ck to an interview with Pope Honorius at
no. Petitioners both from the Empire and the
om kept flocking in. Amongst others, the
t of the Church of Berne procured an Imperial
against the two Counts of Kiburg, who had
im and his Canons out of his Church for six
and had scorned the ban of the Bishop of
ace. Frederick also granted to a Prior of
a confirmation of the Charter given by Duke
one of the witnesses to this deed is a judge
Aminadab. Andrew the Archbishop of Bari,
cessor of Berard in that see, obtained three
s from Frederick at Ferentino; one of which

* Johann Victor.

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establishes the fact, that the Greek clergy and Catapans were still to be found in the diocese of Bari.

Frederick left Ferentino in March, and returned to Sora, followed by Von Salza and many nobles of the Empire. The Bishop of Trent was appointed Legate of the Empire in Tuscany, where he received seventy marks of silver for his master. The Church of Hamburg obtained a Charter, and orders were sent to Engelbert to give corporal possession of the Emperor's late grant to the Church at Maestricht. Frederick, having thus bestowed much time upon German business, was now recalled to the wars of Italy. He besieged Celano in March, being resolved to put an end to the strife which had been raging in the Abruzzi for more than two years. The Count of Acerra, his lieutenant, aided by the Archbishop of Capua and the Abbot of Monte Cassino, had been occupied, sometimes in chasing the noble rebels whenever they broke out of Celano, Boiano, or Magenul, sometimes in laying siege to those strong positions. Frederick strove to get the Count of Molise into his hands, by making the Countess and her son his envoys.* He was aided in the siege of Celano by Henry Count of Malta, who was once more in favour. The Pope at last made peace between the two parties; the Count was allowed to proceed to Rome, while the Countess kept the estate and honours. A treaty was also made with the Count of Celano. A letter was sent to Pope Honorius from Pescara, dated on the 25th of April, 1223, which explained that the Emperor

* Ric. San Germano.

. forgiven Count Thomas, his sons, Rinaldo of CHAP.
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 Aversa, and their followers. A full pardon was
 granted them, to be confirmed by the Church ; but 1220-1227.
 they were to give up their fortresses. The Count's
 vassals were to receive back their fiefs ; and their
 term was that very year to start for the Crusade and
 serve for three years ; if there should be no
 crusade, he was to go into Lombardy in August.
 Count Thomas and the son of Rinaldo of Aversa were to
 be placed as hostages in the hands of Hermann
 of Salza, the master of the Teutonic Order, in
 whom all men had full confidence. The County
 of Molise was confirmed to Count Thomas, his
 heirs, and heirs ; his faithful barons and knights
 were not to be judged, unless in his presence
 or in that of his deputy. Rinaldo of Aversa was
 to receive back his estates, and the conditions
 of peace were to be published before the whole
 kingdom. The Emperor's Court was to be bound by oath
 to observe them faithfully, and they were to be an-
 nounced to the Pope. This treaty, which restored
 peace to the Abruzzi, was made towards the end of
 April, when Frederick was at Pescara ; in May, he
 went to Cotrone, where he inspected several Greek
 charters granted by his Norman forefathers to the
 monks of Rossano ; these he confirmed to Basil the
 abbot. When at Maida, the Emperor occu-
 pied himself with the business of the Kingdom of
 Sicily.

In the beginning of June, he was once more at
 Salerno. By this time, the Saracens of the West
 had been almost entirely subdued ; an army was
 sent to exterminate their brethren in the island of

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 VII. knowing that, at the other end of his
 1220-1227. King of Denmark was his captive. Cas
 at every point, remained for a long t
 after making a hasty visit to Melfi in
 towns of the Abruzzi felt his vengea
 church and all, was destroyed, and
 habitants were not allowed to dwell
 near its site, which was now called (i
 iron hand was thus laid heavily upon
 feudalism. Many new strongholds,
 county of Molise, were pulled down,
 the walls of the old Samnite city of Is
 other hand, castles were ordered to
 Gaeta, Naples, Aversa, and Foggia ;
 Pesclalanzano was charged with the
 these orders. Frederick now resolve
 further blow against his nobles. The
 was still being waged in Sicily, and t
 of the mainland were summoned to ser
 in this struggle. Four of them, Rog
 Thomas of Caserta, James of San Sev
 son of the Count of Tricarico did not
 proper time, or with proper attendance
 Frederick ordered Henry of Morra
 deputy, to seize them and to confisca
 The Count of Molise shared the like
 refused to appear before Morra, wh
 by that official.† The restlesss olig
 which the Kingdom had groaned durin
 minority and absence in Germany, w

* App. ad Gauf. Malaterram.

† Ric. San Germano.

make way for a despotism, which at least gave
peace and quiet to the land.

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The next year, 1224, was entirely spent by the
Emperor in Sicily, and this was the only year in the
whole period between his return from Germany and
embarkation for Palestine, in which his presence
was not needed on the mainland. He seems to have
remained much at Catania, and while he was there, almost
the last embers of the Saracenic war were trodden
out on the heights of Platani. This was a natural
fastness, held by the unbelievers, a mile in cir-
cumference, with abrupt precipices on every side ;
the ruins of walls were visible upon it three cen-
turies after this time, and it still bears the Moslem
name of Calata.* In March the Arab sheikhs, the
chieftains of all the mountain tribes, were brought
before the Emperor by the Marshal at Catania, and
there they made their submission. The Sicilian nobles
urged Frederick to follow up his advantages, and
to quit their shores. Meanwhile the Pope pleaded
the cause of the four nobles who had been thrown
into prison in the previous year ; they were released,
and had to give up their sons as hostages. The Em-
peror now laid a trap for some of his humbler enemies ;
he caused Morra to lure back to their homes the
exiled inhabitants of Celano, under promise of
restoring to them their lost possessions. As soon as
they came together, they were seized and shipped off
to Sicily, and were thence sent to colonize the barren
islands of Malta.

About this time, letters concerning the University
of Naples, Frederick's new foundation, were sent

* Amari ; *Storia dei Musulmani in Sicilia*.

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throughout the Kingdom. The order for dismantling fortifications was strictly enforced; the walls of San Germano were with difficulty spared. An edict was issued, allowing the churches exemption from feudal services. An illustrious stranger, William the Marquess of Montferrat, came with troops to Brindisi, the favourite port of embarkation for the East. He was on his way to recover Thessalonica, which had fallen to the share of his family at the time of the Latin conquest of Constantinople. He went into Sicily alone, in order to obtain Frederick's aid for this enterprise, and he pawned to the Emperor as many towns and castles in Montferrat as he was able to pledge; for these he received 9000 silver marks. He soon perished; his brother Demetrius came to Frederick two years later on the like errand, and at his death bequeathed to the Emperor his own claim to the possession of Thessalonica. Frederick kept it until the year 1239, when, standing in need of every friend he could make, he handed it back to the Montferrat family.* In November, 1224, he made a treaty with the King of France, binding himself not to aid the rebels in that country, or to enter into any league with the King of England. Two French ambassadors came to Catania to make this treaty, while King Louis himself had an interview with Frederick's son in Lorraine. Archbishop Engelbert, on the other hand, did all he could to uphold the English alliance. Shortly afterwards, Frederick asserted his power over Provence; the Abbot of Montmajour begged his interposition against the rapacious Count of Forcalquier, who made light of the ban pronounced by the Arch-

* Benvenuto San Giorgio.

of Aix. Frederick placed the Count under the ban of the Empire, finding that a previous excommunication had had no effect. A few months afterwards, he conferred favours on the Prelates of Orange and the latter of whom was allowed to become the patron of persons dying, though he was forbidden to possess a castle belonging to the Empire. The same privilege was extended to the Count of Toulouse, who became one of Frederick's firmest friends, when he and the Count were both alike persecuted by the Church. The Count of Provence was enjoined to make war on the Counts of Marseilles, for having rebelled against the Bishop, who had fled for protection to the Emperor.

These mutineers and their goods were to be seized wherever found, whether on sea or on land, and the Emperor was ordered to wage the war against them. The sentence of the Empire against Besançon was also renewed, and a prayer of the Chapter of Toul was read. Louis of France was entreated to disavow the men of Cambray, who made light of the Emperor's edicts. These papers, which have come down to us, give some notion of the power wielded by the Hohenstaufen Princes. Many provinces, now included within the boundaries of France, then looked for protection to Hagenau or Palermo, not to Paris.

On the 26th of December, his birthday, Frederick celebrated mass in the Royal Chapel of Palermo, when he was shown by the Chapter a charter of King Roger, the Golden Bull of which had been cut off by some one acting under a diabolical instinct, or blinded by desire for power, whereupon the Emperor renewed the charter. The representatives of the different Orders were constantly coming before him with privileges granted to them by his predecessors, and often written in Greek. Some time before

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this, he had banished Harduin, the Bishop of Cefalu, on a charge of wasting the estates of that See. The Pope ordered the cause to be tried by two Judges, the Bishop appearing as Plaintiff and denouncing the exactions of the Imperial officials. One of his grievances was, that he had been forced to ransom himself from the unruly Roman mob, whilst in exile. A Royal Notary, on the other hand, charged the Bishop with nepotism and waste. Harduin replied by stating all that he had done for his Church, and by alleging the cost of travelling to Germany and to Rome. The sentence was, that the Emperor should make good the past revenues of the See and the money expended by the Bishop, but that the Crown should be allowed to hold the Castle of Cefalu, a bulwark against the incursions of the Arabs. Harduin was soon again driven into banishment, and had the honour of being one of the Prelates most hated by Frederick.

The Emperor, in 1225, was quitting Sicily for almost two years; he therefore summoned into that island all his barons and feudatories, in order to overawe the Saracens while he himself went into Apulia. He took up his abode for some time at Foggia and Troja, whence he repaired to San Germano. This year being a peaceful one, the designs for the Crusade were much forwarded.

Early in 1226, he ordered all the barons of his Realm to meet him at Pescara and follow him into Lombardy. He made Henry of Morra Chief Justiciary and Captain of the Kingdom. Frederick's first care, after his return from his bootless journey in the autumn, was to receive accounts at Foggia from all his Justiciaries, and to appoint new ones. He withdrew into Sicily for the winter, which was

kably hard one; Lake Fucino of the glassy
as frozen over, so that men and oxen could
cross it; and early in the next year, 1227,
was a great dearth which speedily made its
felt at Rome. Honorius, beset by a starving
famine, at once turned his eyes towards the old
heart of the city; he sent to Sicily for corn, with
complaints of the Roman dealers, who had locked
up their grain. Frederick was exhorted to imitate
his father and to supply the need of his father and
his people; it was not very long since the Kings of
Sicily had sent corn to Rome in the time of distress.
He was accordingly ordered to provide for the
wants. The Emperor was now on the eve of
his great enterprise; he summoned all the Justiciaries
of Sicily, that he might once more take an
inventory of their labours. Thomas of Acerra visited
him, and, before sailing for Palestine as his Sove-
reign's harbinger. At this period Frederick per-
formed an act of mercy, a fitting prelude to his
great enterprise. The men of Celano had now been in
prison for three years; they were all set free by
his command. Marsia seems to have been the most
troublesome province on the mainland; it was now called
to give hostages for its good behaviour during
the Emperor's absence in the East. There were one or
two outbreaks, as it was, before he could start for
the East. 1228.* In the previous year, we find the
Emperor writing to Morra, and urging him to punish
him, who is called an apostate, the ringleader
of the rioters. The citizens of this border town
looted the goods and carried off the cattle

* Ric. San Germano.

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belonging to Frederick's favourite Abbot of Monte San Giovanni had borne the brunt of these outrages; they were therefore to appear at Rome within eight days, or face excommunication.* Thus, as we see, Frederick bore witness to the lawlessness of his subjects. He loudly proclaimed that he could tame the rebels of Apulia. He took the Castles of Bishops and Abbots, alleged to be the Advocate of the Church and the guardian of military matters; the clergy would have no time for prayer, if they were relieved from acting as Castellans.

This was Frederick's policy in the government of his own Kingdom. The punishments he inflicted on German criminals, such as mutilation: on the wheel, were revived in Sicily.† He savoured more of the wisdom of the serpent than the harmlessness of the dove. 'Long and short heed' was the characteristic of his government; he had learnt the lesson from the rulers of the Church, and he never hesitated to combat them with their own weapons. It may be laid to his charge, no act of his has come up to that letter of a renowned Pope which justifies an atrocious act of treachery on the part of the Papal Legates in the Albigensian text, 'Being crafty, I caught you with guile'; the man who thus quoted Scripture for his own conduct was Frederick's old guardian, Innocent III.

It may readily be believed, that the w

* Regesta of Gregory for 1227. Middlehill MSS.

the Abruzzi cost enormous sums of money ;
 derick seems to have established the most regular
 em of taxation known in Western Europe since
 fall of the old Roman Empire. The cost of these
 s was borne by the whole Kingdom ; not by the
 icular district in which they were being waged.
 in, the impending Crusade was a heavy drain
 n the finances. The first levy of taxes was made
 .221, and a new coinage of tarens was issued at
 alfi. In the next year, Frederick ordered that
 es should be sold for the new money at a certain
 ation, to be made by the judgment of six good
 n, sworn for the purpose, in every district. In-
 sitions were constantly being made into the ways
 which the taxes were raised. The Saracenic war
 acted great sacrifices ; an Abbot complained, that
 was not properly supported by his vassals in
 tributing men for the army ; and Frederick
 dered the defaulters to repay all necessary ex-
 ces. In 1223, the whole Kingdom was taxed
 r this war in Sicily ; three hundred ounces of gold
 re raised from the lands of St. Benedict alone,
 d they were rated at the like amount for the next
 r. Taxes were levied on the Church, under the
 ne of loans* ; one was raised throughout the
 dm, when Frederick was on the eve of setting
 for Lombardy. This may remind us of the old
 glish system of 'benevolences.' The Mint at this
 e seems to have been established at Brindisi, in
 Palace of Margaritone, the blind Admiral, which
 l gone to the Crown, and was used as a Custom
 use, even after being granted to the Teutonic

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* Giannone ; Istoria Civile.

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Order.* From Brindisi the new coinage, styled Imperial, was issued at the end of 1225, the money being called in. The Master of the Mills of Messina, was taken under Frederick's special protection, and obtained a valuable grant. Sometimes the taxes were commuted for services; thus in 1226 the Abbot of Monte Cassino had leave to send his vassals to Gaeta, to aid in building the new Castle. Two years later, the vassals of that Monastery were called upon for military service, and the Abbot received 1200 ounces for their pay.†

During these seven years and a half, which Frederick spent in his own Kingdom, he was constantly interrupted in his efforts for the good of his people by the calls of Rome to make ready for the Crusade, and there were various other differences between him and the Pope, which had an untoward ending. This branch of the subject will now occupy our attention. He had already, while in Germany, obtained several respites from Rome. At his coronation in 1215, however, he vowed to cross the sea in the Autumn of 1221. In the mean time, he sent on before him the Duke of Bavaria, the Bishop of Passau, and other Germans, who on arriving at Damietta, found the Christian host a prey to anarchy. John of Brienne, the King of Jerusalem, dissuaded any further enterprise during the summer heats. Pelagius, Legate, on the other hand, insisted on pushing forward to Cairo. In vain had Frederick entreated the Crusaders to await his arrival. The unlucky expedition was undertaken in July, although at the very time

* See Frederick's Charters for 1216.

† Ric. San Germano.

forcements were coming from Italy. The Pope sent Cardinal Ugolino, the Bishop of Ostia, into North to preach the Crusade, and described as a man who had a zeal for God according to ledge, holy as well as eloquent, the man of our hand, Ugolino, who is like a cedar of Lebanon ed in the garden of God, a man whose presence re loth to lose.' Frederick had also, early in , congratulated the Cardinal on his appointment, knowing what a baneful influence this Church-would exercise on the future. He thus addressed ; ' We hear that our father Honorius has made his Legate in Lombardy and Tuscany, with a to the Crusade. We rejoice that the office is n to one, who is so sound in the faith, so spotless morals, of such eloquence, and so renowned for his ues and learning. We believe that any Legate t by the Pope would bear proper fruit ; still we ak that your words will be peculiarly blessed. e give you full permission to release from our ban y of our subjects who have incurred it.' The rdinal, armed with full powers both by Church dState, set himself to the task of collecting money. e Podestas of Siena and Florence promised him certain sum for every hearth in their respective ies, and the Bishops of Lombardy and Romagna re probably equally active in the cause of Pales- re. Frederick wrote from Salerno in February, 1221, to his liegemen in Germany, Lombardy, and uscan y : ' We owe to God some return for the help e has vouchsafed us in raising us to the Empire ; e have therefore taken the Cross, and we think ght and day of succouring the Holy Land where achel is now weeping for her children, and of

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making ready galleys and ships. Many our example, but they are too few for danger. Up, loyal soldiers of the Empire! up your arms! for now the conquering Roman Empire have gone forth! You will have a double reward, our favour and bliss! Think of the old Romans, who followed the Emperor to the uttermost parts of the world; do not the members feel pity for them who underwent so much on our behalf? Place upon our shoulders the sign of Him, who conquered by the Cross. Be guided by the Bishop, your especial friend.' Frederick wrote in answer to the Milanese; he was engaged in an enterprise in which both friends and foes alike could

Vast sums of money for the Crusade were sent by the agents of Honorius throughout the East, and many soldiers crossed over to the brethren at Damietta; but still a leader was wanted. All hopes of success lay in Caesar, and the Pope thus wrote to him in June: 'I would consider, how wistfully the Count awaits you in the East, believing that you will postpone all to Jerusalem, especially since he has granted you such means for the enterprise; many are murmuring, that you delay that which you had prepared, and which would be of great service to the army, should they leave instantly. We beseech, we warn, and we entreat you to put away from yourself this repugnance.'

Frederick made excuses on the plea that the money had been spent on his coronation and in sending men to the East; but he promised to send a fleet forthwith to Egypt. Honorius

the fleet would have been of some use, had it
 sent earlier; and he warned Frederick not to
 himself too much to the affairs of Sicily.
 The emperor had asked for a further respite, until
 next year. The Pope replied, 'God, who
 all secrets, is my witness, with what joy of heart
 I waited the day, when I was to crown you. I re-
 joice in your exaltation, as a father in that of his son,
 seeing from it the greatest profit for the Church.
 The more she has served you, the more she hopes
 for you. Even before your coronation, you fell under
 excommunication; which I only removed, on your
 promise to obey the Church. But you have hitherto
 disappointed the hopes of the Christians in the East.
 Moreover, your deputies have been oppressing Bene-
 vento, although I am always ready to listen to any
 complaints of your subjects against the people of
 the city. Besides, I hear that you are meddling in
 elections of Bishops: I will see that no wrong is
 done by you in these affairs; but beware of treading in
 the footsteps of your forefathers, whom God has so
 punished, that you are almost the last of your race.
 Look back of the past, and see if you can hope for any
 advantage from war with the Church! How many
 in Germany and Apulia would rejoice, if I were
 to assail you! If you force me to harsh measures, I
 will lay all that has passed between us before the
 world, and will call Heaven and Earth to witness,
 how unwillingly I gave up gentle means.'*

This letter was written in August, the very month
 which Frederick, at his coronation, had promised
 to sail. He could scarcely have been aware of the

*Regesta of Honorius, quoted by Von Raumer. Raynaldus
 says very little of this letter.*

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incredible folly, which was at this time the counsels of the army in Egypt ; still he to send succours to it, according to his Roused by the Papal warnings, although already despatched his Marshal Anselm tingen with troops to the East*, he now another fleet, consisting of forty galleys. command of Henry Count of Malta, a galla who had been much mixed up with Sicil since the beginning of the century. With I joined Walter of Palcar, the Bishop of Ca old Chancellor who had given Pope Im much trouble in the days of Markwald. 1 chiefs were also entrusted with large sums o levied throughout the Kingdom for the ben Crusade. On their way, they turned aside some Saracen pirates, and upon reaching they found that all had gone to ruin.†

The Saracens had manned galleys, and b cepted the succours from the West that w poured into Egypt. Malek Moadhin, the Sultan of Damascus, the brother of Su mel of Cairo, had done much damage to t tians in Syria, and had taken the castle of although Acre was protected by its large Ashraf, the Lord of Aleppo, was at first l the Sultans his brothers, but afterwards joi them. The Christian towns, Antioch, Trip Acre were thought to be in great danger, : power of the West was concentrated at I The expenses incurred were enormous ; ma the prayers put up for the Emperor's an

* Letter of Frederick for 1227.

† Ric. San Ge

did not come speedily, affairs both in Syria and Egypt would be in a most precarious state. After besieging Damietta with trenches, the Crusaders held a great council, attended by the Legate Pelagius; Duke of Bavaria, Frederick's lieutenant, who avowed that he had come to fight; the Masters of the Templars, the Hospitallers, and the Teutonic Order; and many nobles. They resolved to march on Cairo; the King of Jerusalem arrived by sea; and they set forth in July, 1221, with 6000 knights and 40,000 infantry. The Sultan flying before them ordered them on to his camp, which was defended by a branch of the Nile. This proved an awkward trick; thousands of deserters left the standard of the Cross; and the Saracens, getting into the rear of their enemy, held the command of the river and prevented any provisions being brought up from Damietta. Kamel, Moadhin, and Ashraf, together with other Sultans, hemmed in the Crusaders; and when the latter faced about, after making up their minds to go back, they found their retreat cut off by means of many canals, into which the Nile had been turned.* All their stores and baggage were lost; the river began to overflow, and they were now on an island, up to their waists in water. The Sultan, to quote the words of the Grand Master of the Temple, had been like a fish in a net; and he would not throw away his advantages or risk a battle. In this strait, the Christians were ready to catch at any terms of peace; they agreed to give up their great conquest, Damietta, which had just been purchased by so many lives, and by a siege that had lasted more than a

* *Populus incidit in læcum, immo laqueum.* Letter of Frederick for 1227.

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year. In return, the Sultan was to yield the true Cross; and each party was to release prisoners to the other side. A truce of three years was also agreed upon, unless a crow should come into the East, and begin the year. Hostages were given on both sides; and when news was brought to Damietta by a deputy from the army. Von Salza and others, with Frederick's fleet coming up the Nile, and its return.* Great was the dismay of the king; the Bishop of Acre, the Sicilian Count, and the Count of Malta, wished to defend the city, but on strict search being made, neither men nor money were forthcoming. The treaty was therefore confirmed; and Damietta, which had been held by the Christians for almost two years, was more given up to the Sultan, in the beginning of September. Thus ended in disaster what was called the first act of the Fifth Crusade.†

Frederick's two representatives seem to have taken their part in causing the surrender, by losing their voyage from Italy. Walter the Count of Brienne was naturally averse to the idea of facing imperial wrath, after the untoward issue of the expedition, knowing that this was not his first misfortune; he accordingly fled to Venice; and there the Count of Malta, a valiant soldier, returned to Frederick, laid hands upon him, and took his estates.

A dismal gloom overspread Christendom at the arrival of the news, that Damietta, which

* Letter of Frederick for 1227.

† Letters in De Wendover.

shed so much blood and treasure, was once in the hands of the Moslem. The grave of San Germano is unusually aroused. For the only time, he disregards the rule he has laid down for himself on beginning his Chronicle, and will set down nothing but what he has either seen himself or heard from others most worthy of record; he is now tempted to quit his sober prose, and breaks out into most piteous rhyming stanzas.* The real author of this disaster was beyond all doubt Cardinal Pelagius, the Pope's Legate in the

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He must have known that many galleys were coming to his aid from Apulia, with strong reinforcements; yet he chose to push on towards Cairo, without waiting for Frederick's soldiers and sailors, who would have done good service in the Nile. This arrogant priest, puffed up by his success at Damietta, meddled in military matters, and had thwarted John of Jerusalem, the first soldier of the age, and that Simon de Montfort was gone. Honorius tried to have laid the blame on the shoulders of his predecessor, his 'second Joshua,' who had found the Nile

* ' Jesu bone, si fas est dicere,
Cur sic placuit nos dejicere ?
Ubi nunc decus est Ecclesiæ,
Christianæ flos et militiæ ?
Legatus, Rex, et Dux Bavarie
Victi cedunt viri perfidiæ !
O quam pravo ducti consilio
Exierunt duces in prælio !
Damiata, tu das exilio
Quos fovisti fere biennio ! '

The more phlegmatic German, who writes the Augsburg Chronicle, contents himself with a simple heu, heu! for the fall of Damietta.

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1220-1227. less easy to manage than the Jordan. Instead of this, the Pope turned round upon Frederick. The Emperor wrote in October, 1221, 'that the sad news from Egypt had plunged a sword into his heart, and had made him the more eager to rush to the rescue; but that further advice must be taken.' Honorius made answer in November: 'For five years men have been expecting your Crusade; they now throw the whole blame of the disasters in Egypt on the Pope, and not altogether without reason. We have been too easy in sanctioning your delays. Owing to the solemn vow made by you at your Coronation, and owing to your letters to the Crusaders, announcing your speedy arrival, they rejected the proffer of Jerusalem. We shall spare you no longer, if you still neglect your duty; we shall excommunicate you in the face of the Christian world. Take heed then, like a wise man and a Catholic Prince.' Nicholas, the Sicilian Bishop of Tusculum, was once more sent from Rome to arouse Frederick to a sense of his duties.

In April, 1222, Honorius met the Emperor at Veroli, a small town near the boundary separating their dominions. They were in conference for fifteen days.* Damietta was lost; and there was therefore no need of immediate hurry. The Pope proposed to call a Council at Verona, where Germans and Italians could most conveniently assemble; he and Frederick would there meet the Princes of the Empire, late in the year. Honorius also desired the presence of the heroes, who had already begun the good work in the East; King John of Jerusalem, the Grand

* Ric. San Germano.

mers of the Three Orders, and Cardinal Pelagius
 himself were to appear at Verona. These competent
 ages were there to discuss every thing bearing on
 a new enterprise, which the Emperor himself would
 lead. In the autumn, he sent four galleys to Acre,
 to bring the illustrious party.* Frederick, his wife,
 his son, and his kingdoms, were taken under the Papal
 protection, now that he was really to become God's
 man soldier. But all these plans came to nothing.
 King John indeed appeared at Rome towards the end
 of the year, together with the Grand Master of the
 Hospitallers: but Frederick was called into Sicily by
 a Saracen revolt, which occupied him for two
 years. It would be folly to attack the Moslem in
 the far East, and at the same time to leave their
 brethren in Sicily unsubdued. Honorius, on his
 side, was prevented from visiting Verona by bad
 health. Had the Council taken place, it would pro-
 bably have been rudely disturbed by the fearful
 earthquakes which laid waste the North of Italy
 towards the end of this year. At Brescia alone,
 1,000 are said to have perished. At Parma, the Bap-
 tistery was nearly overthrown; a mishap which, had it
 been complete, would have entailed the loss of one of
 its best authorities, Salimbene the Franciscan, then
 in his cradle. His mother, scared by the impend-
 ing fall of the great building, rushed from her
 house after catching up his little sisters, but left him
 behind. Happily for all who search into matters con-
 nected with Frederick's age, the Baptistery stood, and
 Salimbene was saved.

The Emperor showed no lack of zeal in the cause

* Oliverius.

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of Palestine. 'O shame!' cried he; 'the the synagogue are putting to flight the son Church!' But he was this year embroiled in quarrel with the Pope. It will be remembered Conrad von Urslingen had been made Duke of by the Emperor Henry the Sixth, and had after been driven out of Italy by Pope Innocent the Duke's sons were now with Frederick, as never forgotten their claim to Central Italy. them, Berthold, was trying at this time to get sion of what he looked upon as his rightful ance; he received homage and money from the cities of the March, placed malcontents the ban, and was aided by Gunzelin, Frederick's Seneschal. The Emperor wrote to the Cardinals declaring that he had ordered all to be restored to Rome; he was very angry on hearing that he was suspected of duplicity in the affair, and his first letter of the next year was directed to the authorities of Ancona and Spoleto, revoking all that Gunzelin had done against the Church.

In the spring of 1223, another conference was held upon the affairs of the Crusade. Frederick came to San Germano; but Honorius was unable to appear, on account of a bad disease in his leg; the Pope however, after much pressing, came to Ferentino, a town, like Veroli, not very far from the border. Thither also came King John of Jerusalem, the hero of Champagne, impatient of rest, although he must have been at this time more than seventy years old. He was tall, stout, and strongly-built, surpassing the common size of men, like another Charlemagne or Judas Maccabæus; it was said that none of the Saracens dared to stand up to him, when

ad once warmed to his work and begun to lay
 t him with his iron mace. Yet he was observed
 emble on the eve of battle; on being asked the
 n, he answered that he cared not for his body,
 feared that his soul might not be well ordered
 e sight of God. France was right proud of
 champion; a ballad was sung in the cloisters
 uris long after his edifying death, wherein King
 was praised as the prowtest of knights, just as
 ander Hales was the wisest of clerks.* De
 ne had been half burnt by the terrible Greek
 t Damietta; he was a savage old warrior, and
 aid to have beaten his second wife until he killed
 because she had tried to poison her step-daughter
 nde.† He had quitted Egypt in disgust at the
 rance of Cardinal Pelagius, and had only re-
 ed in time to share in the disastrous expedition
 he Nile. Demetrius the King of Thessalonica,
 Patriarch of Jerusalem, seven German Prelates,
 the Masters of the three Brotherhoods, who
 : now at enmity with each other, were also pre-
 at Ferentino.

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Frederick laid before them the causes which had
 yed his coming into the East to fulfil his vow;
 his very moment the Saracens in Sicily, and the
 les of the Abruzzi, were up in arms against him.
 orius therefore granted a further delay of two
 s; by the end of that time it was to be hoped
 Frederick would have put down the rebels and
 le all his preparations for the Crusade. He took
 ath to sail in 1225; but the Pope now proposed to

Salimbene, who often sang the ballad. See also Acropolita,
 Greek.

Bernard Thesaurarius.

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give him a still nearer interest in the success of the undertaking.

Frederick's first wife, Constance of Arragon, had died in the summer of the previous year at Catania; her tomb, a Greek sarcophagus, may still be seen in the Royal Chapel of the Cathedral of Palermo, near her husband's remains. They seem to have led a happy life together, in spite of the disparity of their years. Frederick therefore was now free to marry again. King John was the father of a little girl named Yolande, the rightful heiress, through her mother, of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. This Crown, by an unhappy fatality, was always passing by female descent; a circumstance which had been the chief cause of the decline of the Kingdom, and of its overthrow by the arms of Saladin in the last generation. If Frederick were to wed this child, the mischief might be undone. There would never occur a better chance of regaining the lost prize than now, when the De Briennes of France and the Hohenstaufens of the Empire were about to set forth, side by side, for the Holy Land.* Honorius sent the news to France, and seems to have had no misgivings on his thus bestowing another Crown upon one who already held those of Sicily, Germany, and Arles. On the 5th of August, 1223, he dispensed with the relationship that existed between the bride and the bridegroom. But these affairs were not the only subjects of interest to Pope and Emperor. The old vexed question of nominations to Sicilian Bishoprics had been once more mooted. Frederick had been much displeased with the Court of Rome in the previous year, for not confirming a

* Ric. San Germano.

of his in the See of Brindisi ; the only objection was, that three months had passed before the Chapter had proceeded to a fresh election. The Chapter of Capua, on the other hand, having been unable for four months to agree, had at last fixed on the Dean, whom Frederick begged the Pope to confirm. But in June, 1223, Honorius returned a favourable answer. The Judge of Bari had refused the confirmation of Frederick's candidates for the Sees of Capua and Aversa. This was not immediately granted ; he therefore proceeded to send an unusually harsh message from his master, to shocked Honorius. The Judge averred that the Pope's superintendence was not protection, but oppression, tending to the ruin of the Kingdom. He had also heard that orders had been sent to close the gates of Capua, Salerno, and Aversa, on any man nominee ; he therefore writes thus to the sumptuous Emperor : ' Be not corrupted by flattery ; shall we not have in Sicily the rights that we have in other lands, even in the Empire itself ? Do you think that you can prevail against the Church ? The Lord's hand is not shortened, that He cannot save. Be not ashamed to acknowledge your fault, and sending a messenger without delay to remove the disagreeable impression created by your envoy, his doubtless gone beyond his instructions.' Frederick had returned to his Kingdom to crush the Barons in the Abruzzi, and then the Saracens in Sicily. The Pope mediated a peace on behalf of Frederick ; and Hermann von Salza, whom the Emperor favoured more than ever, took part in the negotiations. The Moslem were almost entirely expelled by the spring of 1224. In the mean time

the Bishop of Patti, to Acre, to gain Queen Blanche's consent to the marriage. We beseech you to send into the Kingdoms of the West proper teachers of the Crusade, and to despatch a special legate, that a truce may be made between France and England.' In the same month, Frederick took under his Imperial protection the Pagans of the Sicily, who were coming over to Christianity.

During all this time, King John of Jerusalem had been travelling over France, England, Spain, Germany, seeking help for the Crusade. He collected some large sums of money, but could find many men ready to enlist for 1225. In the year, he returned from his tour in Western Europe, bringing with him his new bride, a princess of Castile; they had a noble reception at Capua, at the orders of Frederick. John thence went to Sicily, there to await his future son-in-law. The Emperor, after calling all his Barons into Sicily, in the hope of overawing the lately subdued Arabs, ordered the King at Melfi, the old Norman capital of Apulia, built on a hill of lava, with its Castle, the earliest of all the Norman buildings in Italy, overlooking a precipice. Here the two Sovereigns, John and De Brienne, together with the Patriarch of Jerusalem, was sent to the Pope, in order to obtain one more postponement of the Crusade. Frederick trusted alone to the eloquence of his ally; he summoned all the Prelates of the Kingdom to his Court, and there he kept them against their will until the news came that Rome had granted him the desired respite.* He then

* Ric. San Germano.

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went with King John to San Germano; on this occasion the Pope himself was unable to meet them, but sent two Cardinals as his deputies, whom he called in a letter to Frederick, written in the middle of July, 'columns erect in the house of the world, and stars shining in the firmament of heaven.' One of these envoys was Pelagius, the arrogant Portuguese, who had ruined the affairs of the East four years before. The other was Gualo Bicchieri, who had been sent to England as Pope Innocent's Legate the year after the grant of the Great Charter, in order to prevent Louis, the son of the French King, from establishing himself on the English throne. He had received, as Legate of Rome, the homage of the boy Henry the Third at his coronation, had been present at the battle of Lincoln, in 1217, and had afterwards deprived of their benefices all the English clergy who had taken part in the rebellion, some of them regaining his favour at a ruinous expense.* His name is connected with the building of Salisbury Cathedral, and with a famous Church at his native Vercelli, the delight of architects. Pelagius and Gualo had full powers from Honorius to treat with Frederick. On the 25th of July, matters were thus arranged. The Emperor was to set out for the Holy Land in August, 1227. He was to keep 1000 knights in Palestine for two years, under a penalty then agreed upon. He was to have 150 ships ready to transport 2000 knights, their followers, and three horses for each knight. He was to pay 100,000 ounces of gold to certain Commissioners by four

* De Wendover.

its, which he was to receive back if he
Palestine within two years. This sum
remain with the Commissioners in the event
ath, or if the Crusade did not take place.
reement was binding on his successors, and
ade default in any one condition, he and
r his Kingdom was to fall under the ban
Church. The treaty was published, sealed
Golden Bull.

if Frederick should be prevented by any
m leading the Crusade in August, 1227, he
e an excommunicated man. No very gene-
rpretation of the treaty of San Germano
expected from the Lateran. Raynald, the
Spoleto, was at San Germano, and took the
Frederick's behalf. The Emperor was now
from his oath of Veroli, sworn three years
He despatched letters, sealed with the Golden
the princes of Germany (some of them had
esent at San Germano), and to the burghers
bardy, directing them to attend the Diet
ould be held at Cremona next Easter. Car-
onrad, who had been already sent to make
etween France and England, preached the
throughout Germany in 1225. Frederick
d a free passage to all who enlisted, and
n the hands of Hermann von Salza, who
en at San Germano, 100,000 ounces of gold
undertaking. Apulia and Sicily were, by
e, well accustomed to taxation.

Emperor, rejoiced to meet once more so many
northern lieges, made several grants to them
t San Germano. He gave a fief to the absent
hop of Cologne, after highly commending

CHAP. his services. He confirmed an old grant
VII. Church of Spires, referring to his Imperial
1220-1227. fathers who lay buried there. A thousand
marks were paid over to the warlike Bish
Bamberg, and more were promised in return
certain fief. The Burghers of Rheinfelden
privileged to hold of the Empire for ever as a
for their services. The Imperial Council must
paid particular attention to Oliver, the Bish
Paderborn, as an authority on the Crusade; it
him that we owe a valuable account of the si
Damietta, where he acted as engineer to the
tians. Honorius had yielded to Frederick's p
as to the delay of the Eastern enterprise, but h
less compliant in another disputed affair.
months after the treaty at San Germano, h
nounced that he had taken upon himself to na
persons for the Sees of Capua, Salerno, Brind
Conza, and for an Abbey at Aversa. None
new Prelates, except the first, were accepta
Frederick. The Emperor refused to adm
Pope's nominees, and there the matter for the
rested.

It is now time to relate what had passed
many during the five years of Frederick's s
from that country. His son Henry, the King
Romans, whose election had so disquieted H
was left there in 1220, under the charge of
bert, the Archbishop of Cologne. The Rege
exerted himself to suppress the feuds whic
always weakening the Empire. He had a
Henry as King, at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the yea
In the next year the new Crusade was pr
throughout Germany; all the faithful were t

sea with 'the glorious Emperor Frederick,' in 1219. No repetition of the Damietta disaster need be feared; the Dukes of Austria and Bavaria would win fresh laurels in Palestine. In 1224, the young King held a Diet at Frankfort, whither letters came from his father, announcing the mission of Hermann von Salza, whom the Emperor himself would have accompanied, had he not been detained by the Saracen revolt in Sicily. This year, John de Saxe also arrived in Germany; King Henry accompanied him to Cologne, where Archbishop Engelbert gave them a gorgeous reception. Brother Hermann obtained the liberation of the Danish King, after a captivity of two years; he was to pay 10,000 marks as his ransom, give up all the land he had taken from the Empire, and receive his crown at the hands of Frederick. To these hard conditions the Danish nobles refused to submit. In 1225, Cologne was overtaken by a sad disaster. Engelbert, 'the father of our country, the ornament of Germany,' was murdered on a journey by his own kinsman, the Count of Isenberg. The deed had been connived at by many nobles, whose turbulence the good Regent had kept within bounds. His body, pierced with thirty-eight wounds, was received at Cologne, with unspeakable grief on the part of both clergy and laity; it was honoured with a noble funeral, which perished, together with the old Cathedral, about twenty years later; miracles were said to be wrought by the corpse. King Henry shed many tears over one whom he looked upon as his father. Engelbert's murderer was given up for a fine of 2000 marks; he confessed his guilt, and was broken on the wheel at Cologne; his castle was

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levelled with the ground. The loss of the good Archbishop was a terrible blow to Frederick; his son from this time was abandoned to the guidance of wicked counsellors, who led on the unhappy boy to his ruin. The Germans would not consent to the marriage of their young King with an English Princess; the Plantagenet Monarch sent over the Bishop of Carlisle as his envoy, tendering the hand of his sister Isabella; but it was useless, for no offer of money was made by England. The King of Hungary offered a large sum with his daughter, if the Emperor would marry her to Henry. The King of Bohemia made a bid of 30,000 marks, to which the Duke of Bavaria added 15,000 more, if Frederick would accept a member of their house as his daughter-in-law. All was in vain; for Henry wedded Margaret, the daughter of the Duke of Austria, at Nuremberg in 1225; such was the throng on the occasion, that forty people were crushed to death. Two years later, the bride was crowned and enthroned at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the presence of all the Prelates and Princes of Germany, just on the eve of the long expected Crusade.*

Upper Italy, being left to herself, and not having an Engelbert at her head, had been in a constant state of civil war ever since Frederick's coronation. Cardinal Ugolino had endeavoured, though with scanty success, to make peace between the Lombard states in 1221. The Count of San Bonifazio was at war with the house of Romano. Azzo, the Marquis

* These details, as to Germany, are taken from Godfrey, the Monk of Cologne, and from the Augsburg Chronicle. See the amusing letter of the Bishop of Carlisle in Rymer, as to King Henry's marriage.

Este, and Salin guerra were struggling for the possession of Ferrara. The Bolognese razed the walls of Imola in 1222, and carried home the gates of that town, much to the indignation of Frederick, who cited the Bolognese Podesta to appear before him. Faenza, Cesena, and Forli were Guelf; Rimini, Fano, Pesaro, and Urbino were Ghibelline.* The cities of Tuscany were equally embittered against each other. The Paterines and other heretics were making great progress. In March, 1224, Frederick, returning from Catania, ordered the Archbishop of Speyer, his Vicar in Upper Italy, to publish an edict against them throughout Lombardy; if taken, they were to be burnt alive, or to have their blasphemous tongues cut out. Still we hear of the heretics increasing at Brescia in the year 1225. They were the turbulent lovers of disorder, with many jarring interests, whom Frederick would have to encounter at Cremona next Easter, all for the sake of Palestine.

One other event, connected with the Crusade, distinguished the year 1225. After the treaty of San Germano, Frederick sent to Acre fourteen galleys under Henry of Malta. On board were the Bishop of Lodi, who in the next year was promoted to Capua, and Guy L'Enfant. The former acted as Frederick's proxy, and placed the ring on Queen Yolande's finger; folk were astonished that a bridegroom in Syria could wed his bride in Syria. She was then crowned Queen of Jerusalem by Raoul the Patriarch, surrounded by a brilliant assembly. A Teutonic knight named Henry undertook the charge of her,

* Sismondi and Muratori.

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and brought her to Brindisi, where amid great rejoicings she was married to the Emperor in the Cathedral, on the 9th of November. It jars upon our modern notions to find all the chief authorities of Christendom eager to hand over a girl, who at this time could not have been more than fifteen, to a man of the world double her own age.* She was the heiress in her own right of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, just as her mother before her had been. Frederick was not the man to forego anything that seemed his due. On the very day of the wedding, he required King John to make over to him all the rights connected with the Crown of Palestine. The old warrior was taken by surprise; for Von Salza, who had brought about the marriage, had engaged that John should hold the Kingdom for his life. The French hero however was forced to yield. On the next day, the Emperor went with his bride to Foggia; his father-in-law lodged at San Lorenzo, a village near, whence he visited his daughter. He had been for three years on the best terms with Frederick, but henceforth he became Frederick's bitter enemy. He saw Balian of Sidon, and all the nobles of Palestine, who had long owed him allegiance, doing homage to a new master. The Emperor sent the Bishop of Melfi, Count Gentile, and three hundred Sicilian knights to Acre, where Eudes de Montbeillard was appointed his Bailiff. Frederick now styled himself Emperor of the Romans ever August, of Jerusalem and Sicily King.†

King John gave further offence, by refusing to

* Her parents were married late in 1209. Michand.

† Old French Chronicle, set out by Huillard Bréholles.

ed up to his son-in-law the 50,000 silver marks, which the late King of France had bequeathed for purposes of the Crusade.* The new union was not promise fair at the outset. Two different causes have come down to us of some fresh cause quarrel between Frederick and John. The Crusader had with him his nephew Walter, the son of that Walter de Brienne who had been engaged against Markwald and Diephold. This child was by his mother the grandson of the Emperor Tancred, upon whose issue Frederick looked with no loving eye.† The story went, that

Emperor, having failed to make away with Walter de Brienne by means of poison, invited him to play at chess, intending to have him stabbed while engaged. King John hearing of the plot dragged away his nephew from the board, calling the Emperor a Devil and the son of a butcher, in allusion to the old Jesi slander. Frederick dared not answer a word.‡ It is added, that the two De Briennes effected their escape from Barletta in December, taking a road near the coast, and thus contriving to elude the Emperor's watchfulness.

There is another story, by no means creditable to Frederick, which found favour with some chroniclers of the century. It was said that soon after Yolande had been crowned with the diadem of the Empire, her father found her weeping in her chamber. On being asked the cause, she complained that her husband had neglected her and had taken a cousin of hers into his bed. King John consoled her, as

* Chronic. Turon.

† Old French Chronicle.

‡ Salimbene. 'Fi de becer diabele.'

threatened with instant death, if he did
his conduct. The Emperor banished him
and it is said that he shut up Yolande in
released her on learning that her adven-
was among the turbulent Lombards.* He
came to John at Bologna, and offered him
Crown; but he declined to do anything
disquiet his daughter. Frederick, hear-
thought it best to reconcile himself with
in-law; and John returned to Rome, who
promised him 1000 horse.†

Frederick kept his Christmas at Troje.
Whatever disputes there may have been
between him and his second Empress,
certainly at an end by the next autumn
did not live three years after her marriage.
her sprang all Frederick's posterity born
who made any pretensions to his crown.
nothing incredible in the story of his
unfaithful to so youthful a bride; but
have been wonderfully exaggerated by
annalists.

Early in January 1226 Frederick made

of the heathen ; a number of Syrian nobles, among whom was the Archbishop of Tyre, the Lord of Tyre, and the Patriarch, acted as witnesses. The Emperor in vain begged the Pope to absolve the Lord of Tripoli, a possible ally in the Crusade, from excommunication. Frederick left his Empress at Salerno ; from which city he wrote to the Friesians, summoning them to equip their fleets for the Crusade, and reminding them of their tried valor and of the blood of their martyrs with which the sea was still red. He also sent a circular to Italian cities, the members of the body of which he was Head, ordering them to despatch their warriors to the conference at Cremona. This was the last thing they intended to do. In March, we find Frederick at Pescara, on the opposite coast of the Kingdom, where he had ordered all the Barons of Sicily and Apulia to assemble, that they might bring him into Lombardy. The cavalcade took the way of Rimini ; at this town an event occurred, which had a most important bearing on the history of Europe for many ages. It was nothing less than the transfer of the Teutonic Order from Palestine to Prussia ; instead of warring against Moslem, they were henceforward to convert Pagans. The Duke of Austria had already sent an invitation to the Brotherhood. At Rimini, Frederick as Emperor gave permission to Hermann von Salza, ' a man mighty in deed and words,' to make Culm his head-quarters, and thence to undertake the conquest of heathen Prussia. Power over markets, tribunals, tolls, and justice was included in this famous grant. A few years elapsed, before the plan could be carried out ; Hermann must first follow his Kaiser to Jerusalem.

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About this time, Honorius sent another sharp letter to Frederick. The Emperor had wished to force the men of the Anconitan March, through which he was passing, to follow him to the Diet at Cremona; this conduct was sternly rebuked by the Pope, who brought forward many texts of Scripture to justify the style of the letter. 'Be content with your own boundaries, and seek not to encroach on the Patrimony of St. Peter. You have begun to harass the Church, no longer by deputy, but in person. The higher you rise, the more awful will be your fall. Remember the fate of Nebuchadnezzar and Pharaoh; aye, and of your own grandfather. He burnt the Porch of St. Peter's and worried the Church; he was punished, like the Israelites of old, who were not allowed to enter the Promised Land; he was drowned before he arrived in Palestine; we wish his soul may have reached the heavenly Jerusalem. The vengeance of God fell on his sons Henry and Philip. Why do you boast yourself in wickedness? We love you more than other crowned heads; we are therefore bound to rebuke you, when you go astray. Take care that God does not root you out of the land of the living; we must excommunicate you, if you persist in your wickedness.'

Frederick wrote back in the like style, and thereby drew down upon himself another long letter from the Pope, who had stout-hearted advisers. This second letter is a summing up of the whole case, a statement of all the grievances of Rome against the Emperor.* Honorius was angry that his five

* Salimbene says that it was composed by Cardinal Thomas of Capua.

elates, before referred to, had not been allowed to enter the Kingdom ; moreover Frederick had enacted law, by which priests and monks guilty of the first crimes were to be punished by the civil magistrate.* ' If you are amazed at our letters,' thus the Pope at length wrote, ' much more so are we at yours. You ought to be grateful to your spiritual father and your spiritual Mother. You say, that contrary to the expectation of all men, and against the advice of the Princes, you have been more obedient to the Church than any of your forefathers were. You do not say very much for yourself, even when you make that comparison. You are ungrateful to the Church ; why do you attack your nurse ? How many tears did Innocent, our predecessor, shed for you ! he is now called by you a stealthy robber of your goods ! Think how he found you, and how he left you ! An army was sent against Markwald ; and Cardinals came into Sicily, one of whom died here ; De Brienne also was sent to your aid. You now reproach the Church with having raised Otho to your father's throne. But what could the Pope have done for you, a child helpless and forsaken, against your mighty foes ? Still you used to thank the Church, after God, for your safety and your life ! Are your letters, your words, and your promises in direct opposition to your inmost thoughts ? What have you done for her ? what can she hope from you ? You cannot call the German throne your eternal inheritance ; it is elective. Philip neither could nor would hold it for you ; the vassals of the Church had some trouble to keep him out of Sicily ;

* Giannone ; Istoria Civile.

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and after his death, when all the Princes turned to Otho, you had not the slightest claim or hope. As soon as Otho attacked you, the Church began the war against him. O how nigh were you to dangers! O how close to a fall! What more could she have done for you? We are amazed, that you talk of your own efforts; it was others who sowed, that you might reap! We ourselves in all our dealings with you have looked more to your honour than to our own. Yet you are making loud outcries about our intrusion of Bishops; you should pay regard to the treaty made by your mother with the Holy See, and to the learning of holy fathers. We are aware of no rule, by which the jurisdiction of the Apostolic Chair depends upon your choice. We have often had to complain of your treatment of Prelates; the Archbishop of Taranto, long your favourite, has now been all of a sudden banished unjustly, and is called a traitor and thief*; the Bishops of Catania and Cefalu have been improperly punished. After overthrowing the Bishops, the pillars of the Church, you design to lord it over the inferior clergy; but here is the Apostolic Chair, ready to check you. You say further, that the Church has harboured your rebels, driven out of Apulia. You promised safety to Count Thomas, and to Rinaldo of Aversa; yet many of their followers have been banished, and others have been put to a shameful death: some have found freedom in strange lands; but a Prince, such as you are, should not display his might in chasing a leaf driven hither and thither by the wind. Count Matthew, even

* This Archbishop is not the one who was Frederick's tutor. See Ughelli.

ugh he was in the Holy Land, was oppressed by

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Think of the renowned Julius Cæsar, and of the
cency he showed to Domitius and Metellus ! The 1220-1227.

elites of old had cities of refuge ; David was the
ector of the oppressed ; and shall the Pope, the
r of the great David, turn away his face from
afflicted ? You think it very hard that these
are still alive ! We are grieved to hear of your
rel with King John ; this is not the way to aid

Holy Land ! Moreover, you are detaining
uata and other castles from our loyal subjects.
i complain that we are laying heavy burthens
n you, to bear which we ourselves will not move
nger ; but you forget that in Germany you took

Cross of your own free will ; that we have given
many respites ; that we have granted you the
th of the goods of the clergy ; that we have
ped you with money and with the zeal of our
thren in preaching the Crusade. You often call
rself the Advocate of the Church ; that title
plies protection in her rights. You ought not,
hout our consent, to expect from our subjects
se feudal services that have been long since
lished. Still the hand of the Lord is not weaker,
bring down the pride of men. Be not seduced by
sperity ; Pharaoh's butler, when restored to favour,
got the Interpreter ; but a noble mind is neither
ted by success, nor depressed by adversity.' The
peror could not afford to quarrel with Rome,
en he was about to face his Lombard subjects.
is long letter therefore had its desired effect ;
ederick made a humble reply, and acknowledged
at the Pope had won the battle.

From Rimini, where their company had been

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joined by the Duke of Saxony and by Germans who probably came by way of noble travellers passed on to Ravenna, kept Easter.* This city at that time still the remains of King Theodoric's palace; it was Paul Traversaro, a great Baron, much and very rich; it was hard to say whether King John was the handsomer man, father of Paul, and the old supporter of had long been sleeping in San Vitale, Traversari buried their dead.† That fine obtained a charter from the Emperor, the good offices of his favourite Lando, bishop of Reggio. The Imperial Court for five weeks at Ravenna, and was there the Landgrave of Thuringia, the young husband of St. Elizabeth. The Emperor marched westward towards Faenza, the city which had no reason to love him, knew. His treachery just before his death was still fresh in their minds. He sent a goodly attendance to the city with a goodly attendance; the thinking that the Emperor himself was coming, rushed upon Frederick's counterfeit down, and seized his treasures and horses. The spirit of Faenza, which Frederick was able to tame until long afterwards. The burghers were alarmed at the vast crowds of Germans and Apulians, the men of the Marches, the men of Urbino, who were in the Empe

* 'Hic profectus est Ravenam,
Que fatentem habet venam.'

Chron. Pi

† Salimbene.

‡ Chronic

whole of the neighbouring districts seemed to be combined for the destruction of Faenza. The Ghibellins of the Archbishop of Ravenna and the powerful Romagnole Counts were eager for the attack. Frederick marched on from his encampment at Cosna, and Faenza was in an uproar. The citizens shouted 'We are undone!' and put up their hands to God and St. Peter. However, the danger was averted for this time, and they had the pleasure of seeing their enemies of Rimini run as far as Forlì, though none pursued. All the roads were strewn with arms, flung away by the flying Ghibellines. Frederick, caring little for the discomfiture of his foes, avoided Faenza and passed on by Tillaveria.* Bologna refused to receive him; he rebuilt the walls of Imola, which had been pulled down by her powerful neighbour. He encamped near San Giovanni di Persiceto, and was there greeted by the lords of Cremona, Parma, Reggio, and Modena, most the only cities in all Northern Italy which would pay him any respect.† He crossed the Reno with great difficulty, and his German retinue were turned out of Bologna, where the rain had forced them to lodge.‡ The truth was, that the Lombards regarded the grandson of their old enemy Barbarossa with the greatest suspicion; they saw him coming up from the South at the head of the Apulian valtry, and they knew that his son Henry was coming down from the North with a German host. The spirit of 1167 was abroad, and the old Lombard league was once more renewed. Milan and Bologna

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* Tolosanus.

† Annales Mutinensium.

‡ Chron. Schwartzburg.

to jeopardize the rights, which they had e
disturbed ever since the field of Lignanc
merely coming into the North to hold a D
purpose of furthering the interests of hi
Nothing could be more unlike, than the F
Second Lombard Leagues. That of 11
against Frederick the First after the most
vocation, was sanctioned by the Pope, a
its end the deliverance of Lombardy. Th
formed against Frederick the Second, afte
cation received, was discountenanced by
and resulted in the frustration of the Cru
sowing the germ of endless civil wars. T
fixed upon by the Brescian Chronicler as
ning of 'those plaguy factions of Guel
belline, which were so engrained into the r
forefathers, that they have handed them
heir-loom to their posterity, never to come

King Henry had in the mean time led
warriors across the Brenner, and had ma
the valley of the Adige. He had in
Patriarch, three Archbishops, six Bishop

ners having gone round by Rimini. He went, but found his further progress barred by precipices which overhang the Adige, scarce room for the road, and by the strong walls of the key of Italy, which was in the hands of the enemy. He must either storm these ramparts or go back by the way that he came, and lose all hope of meeting his father. He rejected the latter alternative; and the greater part of the city of Trent, where he had wasted his time, was burnt by the Germans before they began their homeward march.* This perdition of the Lombards long rankled in his mind.† Years afterwards he refers with bitterness to their cruelty in separating father and son. The King of the Romans probably needed counsel and advice, now that he had lost his confidant, Archbishop Engelbert, whose place was supplied by the Duke of Bavaria. The Emperor never forgot that Verona was the key of Italy; and as it should fall into his hands, he could pour down his German soldiery into rebellious Italy.

The great Council of this province was held at Mantua, to which city Conrad, the German King, Otto, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Von Speyer, and others were repeatedly sent, the Emperor at length reached Parma, where he was on the 1st of May. He despatched Berthold, the younger

* r. Mon.

† ' Ipse venit cum furore,

Sed recessit cum dolore.'—*Chron. Placentinum*.

his letters for 1239.

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brother of the Duke of Spoleto, as his Legate the more tractable province of Tuscany. On the Bishop of Hildesheim, had been most earnestly preaching the Crusade in Germany; he now obtained some valuable privileges from Frederick; and the brother of the late Kaiser Otho, was ordered to protect from injury this Bishop, who was his neighbour. Three burghers of Lubeck arrived with a Charter granted by Frederick the First, which was now confirmed by Frederick the Second. They also brought a petition from Volquin, who was leading the Crusade against the Pagans of Livonia; the request of the good knight was granted in the presence of Von Salza, a kindred spirit. The Abbot of Vallombrosa sent a monk to obtain the Emperor's protection for his monastery. The men of Apulian implored Frederick's forgiveness for their past comings. The Archbishop of Magdeburg and the Landgrave of Thuringia had each a request to make. The Bishop of Paderborn asked Frederick to confirm his agreement with the Church of Osnaburg. The Parmesan Abbess begged the Emperor's protection for her sisterhood. A new Podesta of loyal name, named by Frederick, took the oath of allegiance, and a way was found to appease the broils in the city. The 24th of June was named as the day of grace for the Lombards.

By the 10th of June, the number of Prelates from all countries, assembled at Parma on account of the Crusade, was immense. Among them was Gerard of Lausanne, the new Patriarch of Jerusalem, formerly at least Frederick's friend; the Archbishops of Magdeburg, Bourdeaux, Milan, and Reggio; together with many Bishops from Germany and Italy.

ained in putting forth a declaration, how the
wards had hindered the meeting of the Em-
with the King his son, in spite of Frederick's
ntees for the independence of the states; how
ebels had sought to impose degrading conditions
e young King; how the Emperor had shown
ishing forbearance towards them; how the
p of Hildesheim, entrusted with letters from
ope, had asked the advice of the Prelates as to
mmunicating the Italian enemies of the Crusade.
vith one voice agreed that the sentence would
st, and put their seals to the declaration. The
d soul of Frederick must have undergone bitter
iliation during this visit to Lombardy; he after-
ls took care to avenge himself.

a the 13th of June, the Emperor took up his
ters at San Donino, a little town near Parma,
ring its name from a Christian soldier who
red martyrdom under Maximian. Hence
sued three edicts on behalf of Modena, one
e few towns upon which he could rely, and
especial enemy of Bologna. The town of Op-
eim, on the Rhine, now obtained great privi-
s, and long afterwards proved grateful. Lubeck
made a free city of the Empire on account of its
lty, and its traffic with England was released
t toll. The Bishops of Cambray and Beauvais
red with letters for Frederick from the nobles
rance, who sent their excuses for attacking his
t of Avignon on their way to the Crusade
st the Albigenses. The first-named Bishop
ured one more sentence against his mutinous
acts, who were forbidden to assemble at the
d of a bell. Frederick in this decree asserts,

CHAP. that a Diet of Germany may be held out of
 VII. boundaries of that land, wherever the Em
 1220-1227. may happen to be.

He at last reached Cremona, the seat of the proposed Diet. The Bishop of Porto, Alatrino, the Dominican, and others, had obtained from Lombards degrading terms of peace, in which Prelates persuaded Frederick to acquiesce, although the Princes of the Empire were furious. Even these terms were afterwards set aside by the Lombards. Cremona was one of the few exceptions to the prevailing disloyalty; from this time it became the head-quarters of the Ghibelline and her attachment to Frederick was the subject of many joking tales.* Here it was that he appeared, not as a conqueror or a tyrant, but as the author of civilization and as the benefactor of mankind. All the chroniclers, Guelf as well as Ghibelline, monks as well as laymen, are agreed on this point. 'He brought more honour to the Empire than the Empire brought to him,' says Jacopo. The Monk of Padua affirms, when treating of the year, 1226, 'that Frederick was exalted in peace, in glory, and in numerous offspring, above all Emperors from Charlemagne downwards; he was loved in peace, but the Milanese counted his promise of nothing.' Riccobaldi of Ferrara says that in Frederick's time the manners of the Italians were rude; man and wife ate out of one plate, knives or forks were used; there were only one or two drinking vessels in a house; the family was lighted at supper by torches held by one

* See some of these in the *Imago Mundi*.

or by a servant, for wax candles there were
 e; the clothes of men were of unlined flax,
 ing but little show of gold or silver; the common
 ate meat but thrice a week, and kept it cold
 supper; the wine cellars were small, the
 ries of women were small, and the ladies,
 ther married or single, wore no costly orna-
 ts in their heads; men prided themselves on
 r armour and horses; the great ambition of the
 and noble was to possess castles, great numbers
 which were in Italy.' This account is confirmed
 the curious Chronicle of the Imago Mundi,
 ten late in this century or perhaps early
 the next; its author, being a Dominican, is
 and to look upon Frederick almost as an incar-
 ion of Satan, yet he testifies thus; 'The people
 Italy, from Aquileia to Vercelli in particular, in
 derick's time lived in a barbarous and strange
 sion, like Alboin's men; their food, raiment, and
 as were alike uncouth; their dialect, their amuse-
 ts, and their dances were all coarse. Frederick
 aged everything and taught the Italians better
 as; he was remarkable among all the Emperors,
 ng endowed with courteous, noble, and elegant
 aners; in his time the Italians used to practise
 ntations and other brutalities, derived from the old
 latters; they had armour of leather, and strange
 outh coins;' which, the friar goes on to tell us,
 re sometimes dug up in his own age. He is a
 nable authority for anything connected with Cre-
 na, and has preserved many traditions of that city.*

* The good friar cannot be trusted, when he wanders far away
 on the Valley of the Po; thus he brings Charles of Anjou into
 alia during Frederick's lifetime.

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While Frederick was there, the Genoese, overlooking old grievances, sent envoys to him, whom he treated with courtesy on this occasion, as friends were very scarce. They were bent on having redress for the wrongs they had undergone from their neighbours. They were much offended at the conduct of the rival ambassadors from Savona, who would not rise up to them, but laughed behind their backs, and pretended to be sick at their approach; these mockers were much blamed for their insolence, as the Genoese patriot takes good care to tell us.* Frederick, it is to be hoped, did his best to polish the rude men of the Riviera. He made the Count of Savoy his Legate in Upper Italy; former Emperors had already transplanted that noble stem, which soon took root and flourished in its new soil to the south of the Alps. The tree has been growing stronger and stronger for the last six hundred years; let us hope that the whole of Italy, after ages of misery and disunion, may at length find rest under its shade.

Frederick had returned to San Donino by the 5th of July, whence he sent orders to the Duke of Brunswick to put a stop to a civil war in the North, which was damaging the property of the loyal Bishop of Hildesheim and was likely to prejudice the Crusade. He ordered Paul Traversaro, Podesta of Ravenna, to do justice to an oppressed Israelite. On the 11th of July, his own patience, and that of his advisers, was at an end. He held an assembly of Bishops, Judges, and others, in the great Church of San Donino, which was thronged

* Barth. Scriba, Ann. Genuen.

ope's letters, granting full powers to the
 of Hildesheim, were read, and the German
 ed the sentence of excommunication against
 ellious Lombard cities, from Padua to Ales-

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though this was afterwards reversed by
 o, the Chaplain of Honorius.* The spiritual
 having done its work, the temporal Magis-
 llowed. The Emperor, with the consent of
 le assembly, placed the Lombards under the
 the Empire, depriving them of their laws,
 tions, and all the rights they had gained by
 ice of Constance. It is remarkable to find
 nd Emperor united against the Lombards;
 ly proves that the zeal of Honorius for the
 e overpowered his anxiety to see the House
 enstaufen shorn of its strength. The next
 ould take a very different view of affairs.

as now time for the Kaiser to reward his

The Bishop of Porto had done his utmost
 ck the froward proceedings on the Po, and
 en one of the most earnest preachers of the
 e. Frederick therefore ratified an agreement
 y made between this Cardinal and King Henry,
 omised to provide the Bishop's brother, Egeno
 of Urach, with thirty or forty knights as an
 in the Holy war. Another mainstay of that
 ise, the Bishop of Hildesheim, was allowed, in
 of the Imperial favour, to bequeath his goods
 urbed to his episcopal successor. The Bishop
 la had been untiring in his attendance on
 ick; he was rewarded with a Charter.

* Godefr. Colon.

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Another was granted to Aix-la-Chapelle, the Paladium of Germany. Guercio, the Marquess of Savona, was allowed the privilege of female succession in his fief. Cremona also obtained a Charter, which its staunch loyalty richly deserved. After distributing these rewards to his faithful subjects, Germans and Italians, the Emperor turned his back on perverse Lombardy, and began his march homewards. He knew that it was useless to begin a war with the few troops he had at hand. He crossed the Apennines by the pass which leads to Pontremoli, the way by which Hannibal is thought to have penetrated into Etruria. Halting at Sarzana, Frederick took that town under his protection. He was now entering Tuscany for the first time, and doubtless liked its gentle inhabitants better than the savage Romagnoles. By the end of July, he was at San Miniato, a strong castle which he had caused to be built on a steep hill commanding the road between Pisa and Florence. This lofty tower, called from its builders San Miniato dei Tedeschi, is visible for many miles round; here the residence of the Vicar of the Empire was fixed, an office held at this time by Everard, the nephew of the Duke of Spoleto. The Castle of Prato is also Frederick's work.* He was forced to quit San Miniato by night, feeling himself unable to meet the armies brought against him by Florence and Lucca.† He probably feared the autumn winds blowing from the south across the poisonous Campagna, and therefore did not visit Rome; but

* Ric. Malespini.

† Tolosanus.

ack across Italy by way of Narni ; had an interview with Brother Leonard, who came to him on part of Honorius ; and wrote to the Pope from ~~oli~~, on the 29th of August, just before entering ~~own~~ Kingdom. ' God, who knows all secrets, is ~~re~~ that we postponed everything to His service ; ~~t~~ we attended the Diet in the spirit of love and ~~giousness~~ towards all men ; and that we showed ~~red~~ to none of those who had offended us and : Empire. Respect for the Saviour (whose cause ~~are~~ undertaking), prevented us from chastising ~~m~~, as the dignity of our Empire required ; we ~~wered~~ ourselves merciful, and we did and bore ~~ny~~ things, which we should have neither done ~~r~~ borne, had not the holiest of all causes been ~~stake~~. But instead of peace we found uproar ; ~~stead~~ of love we found malice ; and all our efforts ~~uld~~ not tempt the Lombards from their unright- ~~as~~ course ; moreover, owing to their wickedness, ~~a~~ late Diet had no due results, although summoned ~~behalf~~ of the holiest cause. How they have ~~med~~ against God ; how they have damaged the ~~mour~~ of the Church, and that of the Empire, ~~ur~~ Holiness will easily estimate. We entrust the ~~sole~~ affair to you, and to the Cardinals.'

Frederick wrote also to a preacher of the Crusade in Germany, begging him to send off to Palestine ~~who~~ had taken the Cross, in spite of the ill ~~ccess~~ of the Cremona Diet. He was now doing ~~l~~ in his power to please Honorius. He allowed ~~e~~ five intruded Prelates to take possession of their ~~es~~ ; he despatched a body of men to Palestine, the ~~urbingers~~ of his own speedy arrival. The Pope

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had in the earlier part of the year complained that his servants had been robbed by one Tancred of Campelio, a son of Belial, aided and abetted by the men of Berthold, the brother of the Duke of Spoleto. The captives were sent at midnight by secret roads to this German, who, 'with damnable presumption,' opened and read the Papal letters in public, while his crew of ruffians stood by. 'This could scarcely have happened,' so Honorius wrote to Frederick, 'without your connivance; for the man is your special messenger, and he declares that Tancred has a general licence from you to act thus.' Frederick certainly gave Tancred two castles shortly afterwards, but the matter seems to have been satisfactorily arranged, as the Pope was soon on friendly terms with the Emperor, and promised that the Kingdom of Arles should not be injured by the French Crusaders. These were marching under their King against the unhappy Albigenses, and they had already explained to the Emperor how they came to lay siege to his city of Avignon. It was dismantled by the French at the end of a long blockade, after it had been treacherously inveigled into a surrender by the Legate. Frederick complained to Rome, but was told that he could only recover the Kingdom of Arles, after the poison of heresy had been thoroughly purged out. We have admired that letter of Honorius, in which he stands forward as the champion of the oppressed exiles from Apulia, and compares Rome to an Israelitish city of refuge. It is a noble idea, that of the Pope being the Great Redresser of all the wrongs done in Christendom; but unhappily there is a dark

the picture. From Rome came the orders set in motion the warlike barons of the North the helpless South ; which made Languedoc of rape and robbery, torture and murder. Note the words of the English monk, who as the taking of Avignon, 'It seems evident unjust war had been set on foot, of which sickness was the cause rather than the wish to t heresy.'

erick, as is stated above, was doing his utmost on good terms with Rome. He was at during the latter part of this eventful year. affirmed the County of Provence and Forcalo Raymond Berenger, and forbade the cities in despite of their ruler's wishes ; the rights Empire were to be scrupulously respected. s of Savoy undertook to reconcile Marseilles ie Emperor, and Honorius interceded with ck on behalf of two Crusaders of that city, ere kept in prison. The great enterprise in ccupied the hearts of all, and no means were ried to procure recruits. The aid vouchsafed orius, as shown by his letters to the Churches magna, was this. Every day, except on Sun-e Psalm 'Deus venerunt gentes' was to be sung clergy, with loud voice, before the elevation Host. Every month, there was to be a pro-of men and women, headed by the banner of ss, with fasting and a special Indulgence. A s to be placed in the Churches, to receive the f the faithful for the great object. The lives operty of Crusaders were taken under the ion of the local Bishop until their return

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home. The Podesta was enjoined to constrain Jewish usurers to remit their gainful trade in favour of Crusaders; while the pious warriors on the other hand might enforce the payment of any debts due to themselves. Those of the clergy, who joined in the enterprise, were guaranteed their revenues during their absence. None who made the vow could lay it aside at their own pleasure.*

In November the Emperor sent an embassy to the Pope consisting of the Archbishops of Reggio and Tyre, the latter of whom was also the Chancellor of Jerusalem and a great favourite at Court; Hermann von Salza accompanied the Prelates; they besought Honorius to act as umpire between their master and the Lombards, who were ready to submit to the Papal arbitration, in order that the Crusade might not be hindered. Frederick speaks lightly of his own humiliation, so long as the honour of God is maintained. In the mean time he crossed over into Sicily, having the Empress Yolande with him, who had probably benefitted by her sojourn among the learned medical men of Salerno. Very soon, early in the year 1227, a letter came from the Pope, advising Frederick to make overtures to his father-in-law, John de Brienne. 'Why estrange a man of such prudence, such activity, such zeal, such counsel? Who is more terrible to the infidels than he, or more serviceable to the Holy Land? Even had you taken a plain knight for your father-in-law, you ought to have made him a King. Through you the zeal of many is waxing cold! We beseech you in Christ, as a special favour, to recom-

* Fantuzzi, Ravenna, Oct. 21, 1226.

the matter ; we are sending to you the Abbot of Viterbo.'

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Honorius thus did his utmost to reconcile the warring soldiers of the Cross ; and he determined that whatever Frederick might do, so brave a man as King John should be maintained in a manner befitting his rank and services. The Pope accordingly gave that hero the charge of the whole frontier between Rome and Radicofani, on the Tuscan boundary. Perugia, Orvieto, and Todi were under the government of various Cardinals. Very early in this year, on the 5th of January, 1227, Honorius made his award between the Empire and the Lombards, almost his last act on earth. There was to be a hearty reconciliation, and prisoners on both sides were to be set free. All, especially the University of Bologna, were to be released from the ban of the Empire, and from the sentence pronounced in the previous summer. The Lombards on their side were to maintain at their own cost 400 knights in Palestine for two years, and were to hunt out the heretics from among themselves. They were also to take an oath to obey the canons of the Lateran Council. Their letters, bowing to this decision, were to be sent to the Pope by the first Sunday in Lent. Thus, Rome, acting as umpire, made an award which suited her own interests in every way. The Emperor and his son were taken under her special protection ; he at once acquiesced in her decision. The Lombards however were rebuked for the delay they had made in sending succours. Hermann von Salza went into Germany once more on the business of the Crusade, which must take place this year,



Beniamin of the Holy Land, he died on
March, 1227, and was buried in Sant
giore.

CHAPTER VIII.

A.D. 1227—A.D. 1230.

'Ecce parat Cæsar domito, quod defuit, orbi
Addere. Nunc, Oriens ultime, noster eris!' — Ovm.

THE Cardinals had at first wished to elect Conrad, the German Bishop of Porto and the boast of the mercian Order; but he declined the Papacy, just as he had long before refused various wealthy Sees.* They next fixed upon Cardinal Ugolino; after withholding for some time the holy violence of the clave, he took the name of Gregory the Ninth, his election to St. Peter's Chair. He came of a noble house of Conti, which had already given an uncle, Innocent the Third, to the Church, and which was to count yet another Pope, after Gregory's death, among its ornaments. The new Pontiff is described as 'the possessor of a noble form and countenance, of great talents, endowed with a good memory and a penetrating mind, skilled in law, a master of Tullian eloquence, a diligent reader in the sacred Page, a planter of religion, and a pattern of every kind of holiness.' He had already acted as Protector of the new Order of St. Francis, and had composed hymns in honour of the Saint; he was a great founder of monasteries and hospitals; he laid the foundation stone of the Church at

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* Höfler.

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1177-1184. Assisi, and built the walls of Ostia, his old Bishopric. His election took place at the Sette Sole; he was then installed in the Lateran Palace, and was duly enthroned in St. Peter's and in Santa Maria Maggiore. Shortly after Easter, he heard mass and was crowned with the double diadem of the Papacy. He then rode on horseback round the walls of Rome. The squares were hung with silks and tapestry, trumpets were blown, hymns were sung, odours were burnt; the Judges in their silken robes, the Greeks, the Jews, the children in the streets, bawling out the ribald jests customary in Roman triumphs from time immemorial, all alike shouted their greetings to the new Vicar of Christ, and strewed palm branches and flowers before him. The Senator and Prefect on foot led the Pope's horse in its gorgeous trappings, until the long procession of Cardinals, Bishops, and Clergy reached the Lateran, amid the applause of the vast multitude.*

Gregory was no mere monk, taken at hap-hazard from the cloister and suddenly plunged into the business of the great world. He had been employed by Innocent and Honorius in missions to Germany, France, Apulia, and Lombardy. He was a master of the Canon Law, to which he made some important additions. Stern and unbending as he seemed, he thought it no sin, when among friends, to relax his usual gravity. A smile would cross his face, even at an unseasonable moment.† Called to a

* Vita Gregorii IX.

† Frater Augustinus. . . . retulit publicè in conventu Londoniæ se fuisse apud Assisium in festo S. Francisci, et fuisse ibi Papa Gregorius, et cum procederet ad prædicandum cantabant fratres, *Hunc Sanctus præelegerat*; et subrisit Papa.—*Thomas de Eccleston.*

In post of honour in troublous times, he wisely added to the spirit of the age, by showing his sympathy with chivalry. On quitting the pulpit, he would place a garland of flowers on the head of each of the cavaliers who craved the honour of being knighted on St. Francis's day.* He was also a patron of learning, and befriended the famous Thomas Scott. Gregory foresaw the storms threatening the Church, and resolved to recruit the Sacred College with able men. Half a year after his installation in St. Peter's Chair, he created three Cardinals, who were destined in succession to fill his place. These were Geoffrey Castiglione of Milan; Cardinal Rinaldo Fiesco of Genoa; and Rinaldo Conti of Agnino, the Pope's nephew and Chamberlain. To these he added the dauntless Otho of Montferrat, whose name is closely connected with English history; and two other Churchmen of less note.† The spirit of the Lateran underwent a great change. No two men were more unlike in character than Honorius and Gregory. The former was mild, easy, and inclined to gentle measures; we have seen how many respites he granted to Frederick, after the Emperor had taken the Cross. The Pontificate of Honorius, placed between those of the two great Italian Popes, is, as it were, a lull between two awful storms. Gregory was stern, uncompromising, and even prone to harshness; no more respites could be expected from him; he had stood undaunted in the German camp, while those around him were quailing before the ruffian Markwald. Yet, unlike as they were, the two Cardinals seem to have been linked together

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* Eccleston.

† Alb. Trium Fontium.

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by a heartfelt attachment. Honorius, after becoming Pope, needed a strong arm upon which to lean; in the very first year of his Pontificate, he wrote thus of his friend: 'Ugolino is a man after my own heart, mighty in words and deeds; on him I can rely, and trust him in all cases.*' Both probably viewed with equal dismay the overwhelming might of the House of Hohenstaufen; but Honorius seemed to shrink from the battle which he must have foreseen; he strove to end his life in peace, and to put off the evil day. Gregory, on the other hand, looked the danger full in the face; his Pontificate, as he well knew, would decide whether the Pope was to rule the world henceforward, or whether he must become a mere chaplain to the Emperor. This was a problem which Gregory twice attempted to solve in his own way. Frederick perhaps expected to find his old friend Ugolino as favourably disposed towards him as Honorius had been; if he did, he was soon grievously disappointed. Even against Honorius he had lately had many causes of complaint; he was now to find that Gregory was made of still sterner stuff than his predecessor. The first letter received from the new Pope is dated the 23rd of March. It reminds the Emperor of the good offices he has received from Cardinal Ugolino, and proceeds; 'We are willing to grant you every indulgence that we can, but take heed that you do not place yourself in a situation whence we may not be able to extricate you, even with the best will.' On the very next day, Gregory wrote to the Lombard states, ordering them to make ready for the

* Regesta of Honorius, quoted by Von Raumer.

made. 'Ye know how we loved you of yore, when we acted as Legate in Lombardy; but we all love you much more, if ye obey now.' He is not to be tricked by these men, who according to their countryman Salimbene were 'slippery as ice;' he had remarked that some of the states, and also the Marquess of Montferrat, had not set their seals to the treaty; he insisted on the due performance of the compact, ordering the Archbishop of Milan to excommunicate the refractory. He also uttered bitter complaints against the tolerant treatment of heretics in Lombardy, and against the subjection in which the clergy were kept by the laws of the states. The Bishop of Ghibelline Verona was excommunicated for not obeying his superior, the Archbishop of Guelf Milan.*

From the Lombards, Gregory turned his attention to Frederick. The life of the Emperor was not without blemish; it could ill bear the scrutiny of the stern censor at Rome. The Pope sent to his young friend a letter by Guala, a renowned Dominican; the first part is written in a style worthy of

Christian philosopher; the last part degenerates into the strangest mysticism. 'God has bestowed on you the gift of knowledge and of perfect imagination, and all Christendom follows you. Take heed that you do not place your intellect, which you have in common with angels, below your senses, which you have in common with brutes and plants. Your intellect is weakened, if you are the slave of your senses. If those two lights, knowledge and love, be

* Regesta of Gregory for 1227, LIV. LIX. Middlehill MSS. He says, speaking of his arbitration, 'Utraque pars humiliter acceptavit.'

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quenched, if those conquering eagles low and turned to earthly lusts, you will point the way of salvation to your father, be this from you, dearest son! Follow and mercy, even as Israel followed the pillar and the cloudy pillar. Remember the day of your coronation; the cross and lance are yours in the procession, and you wear on your golden crown studded with precious stones; the sceptre in your right hand and the orb in your left. Christ, like you, wore a crown. He had the crown of grace from His Father, the crown of justice from His step-mother, the crown of glory from His Father. You were born by Germany, by Lombardy, which is your step-mother, and by your father. The sceptre stands for justice; the orb is not unmindful of these qualities.'

Frederick was at Catania in the spring of 1227, lieutenant, the Count of Acerra, came before starting for Palestine. All men were called for the Crusade; a paper remains, which lists that eleven dignitaries of the Church, Otranto, made up between them a company of knights and forty foot soldiers.† In June the Emperor was at Melfi in Apulia, and when he received a message from Pope Gregory IX. that provisions from every part of the Empire might be sent to Anagni, the Papal business a few weeks still remained for the transacting of the business of the Empire. The Bishops

* Jerusalem is probably meant. † Chroni

Bamberg came in July, and the former procured
 revocation of the mischievous acts of his prede-
 mor. A month later, four monks, from as many Aus-
 an Abbeys, obtained a confirmation of their privi-
 ges. Frederick renewed the treaty with France, now
 verned by Blanche, the Queen-mother. August had
 length arrived, in which the long-expected Crusade
 not be undertaken, according to the agreement
 San Germano. To a great extent it was a failure.
 w came from England, fewer still from France ;
 a main strength of the enterprise lay in the Ger-
 ans, who came over the Alps under the Landgrave
 Thuringia and the Bishop of Augsburg. Frede-
 k had paid the former recruit a large sum of
 money to induce him to march ; the Duke of
 ustria had hung back at the last moment. The
 erman host arrived in Apulia ; and their Kaiser,
 aving his Empress Yolande at Otranto, joined them
 Brindisi. He rode thither in the heat, against the
 wishes of his physicians, who feared the worst from
 his imprudence, since his health was giving way.
 s it was, the constitutions of the Northern men
 ould not bear the heat of an Italian summer ; they
 ere more than a week engaged in freighting their
 ups with provisions and water ; the power of the
 sun was so great, that it melted solid metal ; Brin-
 isi was an ill-chosen trysting-place, being most
 unhealthy ; the badness of the air, and the rain that
 fell, killed off many of the Crusaders.* The Bishops
 of Angers and Augsburg died ; and the Landgrave
 himself fell a victim at Otranto. Gregory, twelve
 years afterwards, charged Frederick with having

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* Life of Gregory.

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poisoned the Thuringian. What interest could Kaiser have had in making away with a gallant comrade? He endeavoured to lighten the sorrow of the bereaved family, by giving Hermann, son of the deceased Landgrave, certain rights in Meissen, in the event of the death of Margrave Henry. The surviving warriors set sail for Otranto, Frederick among them. But after remaining at sea for three days, he said that he was seized with a sudden illness, so that he could not at the risk of his life any longer bear the roughness of the waves and the unhealthy season. The nobles of the East, who surrounded him, advised him to delay his voyage, after a careful consideration of the state of his health. He put about and returned to Otranto, offering two galleys to Gerold the Patriarch, who went off by himself, seeing that the matter could not be otherwise.* The other crusaders, 40,000 fighting men in all, reached Otranto but returned home for the most part, on finding that the Emperor was not coming; 'putting their trust in man rather than in God,' as the Patriarch remarks. Only 800 knights remained, the command of which Frederick had given to the Duke of Limburg. The Crusade seemed a total failure.† A report spread and widely believed, that the Emperor had made a treaty with the Sultan, to break off the enterprise.‡ Frederick sent two Judges to Sicily to explain all, and went to recruit himself in the baths of Pozzuoli, near Naples, where he could be in the forests around Licola, his royal chase

* French Chronicle.

† De Wendover.

‡ Ric. Malespini.

atched a further embassy to Gregory, consisting of the Archbishops of Reggio and Bari, Raynald of Brindisi, and Henry Count of Malta; they were charged with the task of his exculpation. The Pope would not believe a word they said; but calling together as many Bishops as he could, he publicly communicated the recreant Crusader on the 29th September, 1227.* Hermann von Salza, probably the only man in all Christendom who could have brought peace between Pope and Emperor, had unluckily died for the East.

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Gregory ordered the sentence to be published throughout all Christian Kingdoms; his letter to Stephen Langton, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was as follows: 'The bark of Peter is in such constant danger, that its pilots and oarsmen can scarcely keep her steady; for if it is making full sail for port with a fair wind, the breeze suddenly veers round to an opposite quarter, and carries the ship into the deep ocean. But when it is not overwhelmed; for the Lord, awakened by the cries of his disciples, commands the sea and the waves, and there is a calm. Four gusts are assailing our ship; the Moslem in Palestine; the fury of tyrants; the madness of Heretics; and the perverseness of false brethren. Without are fightings, within are fears; the sword slays abroad and the pestilence comes; while the Church thinks she is cherishing the faithful, she is fostering snakes and cockatrices. The Apostolic See, to escape these dangers, brought up a young pupil, the Emperor Frederick, whom she rescued from his mother's womb, rescued from his oppressors, and raised first to the Kingdom, then to

* Ric. San Germano.

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the Empire. In Germany he gave us a though it now seems a dangerous on own accord, unknown to the Apostolic the Cross. He then obtained a decumunication against himself and the o imitated him, if he should not set out time. The Church called him to the due order, that he might the more s Palestine ; but he has used the banne until now for his own purposes. After by Pope Honorius, he received the C hands of ourselves, who were at that ti place ; he then induced many others t He afterwards conferred with the Pope there swore to set out whenever the C fix the time. Again, at Ferentino, he within two years, and to marry the h salem ; adding that he should thereb the service of Palestine, not like the c but like the Templars and Hospitallers the end of the two years he made fre wanted another respite for three years. after much debating, sent Cardinals Gualo to San Germano ; and there th his own accord swore that he would s years, that is, in August last past ; an conditions were named. The Cardin claimed the sentence which he would failed in aught. But you are now to has fulfilled his promises ; for many t saders came to Brindisi at the appoint had withdrawn his favour from the coast ; we had in vain urged him to ma preparations ; he neglected to send p

to the Christian army in a foul climate so long
nobles and commons alike perished from disease,
st, and heat. Many died in the woods, plains,
mountains, and caves. The survivors could scarcely
leave to sail, but at last they did, though there
were not ships enough to convey all the provisions
horses, as had been promised. Yet the Emperor,
singing his engagements and casting aside all fear
of God, came back, making a frivolous pretence of
ill sickness. Is there any sorrow like unto our
now? He has paid no attention to the ill-usage
of priests and to the complaints of the poor, both
commons and nobles, whose prayers, we think, have
reached the ears of the Lord God of Sabaoth. Rome
runs for him, conquered without a battle, borne
on without an enemy. She mourns the death of
of the host, and the wasted efforts of the rem-
nant, who are driven they know not whither, doing
little good to the Holy Land; we cannot help
mourning to the stormy season. She mourns for
Jerusalem, which we were hoping would now be res-
cued from the Moslem, and which we should have
received in exchange for Damietta, had not the Em-
peror's letters forbidden it; our army would not
have been captured, if he had sent ships to the rescue,
as he had promised; for Damietta, after it had been
placed in the hands of his envoy and been de-
voted with the Imperial eagles, was on that day
fully pillaged and then given back to the infidels.
We mourn the more, when we think of the toil, the
blood, and the time spent on Damietta.
The queen is weeping for her children and for these
misfortunes! Who can refrain from tears? Ought not
every Christian to hurry to the Holy Land, seeing

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that God and Christ are disgraced? Yet His mercy is not clean gone for ever: He will show us a better way, and He will send men after His own heart, who with pure hearts and clean hands will lead on His host. We therefore, by these Apostolic letters, beseech you to set all these matters before the clergy and people under your care, and to induce them to avenge this insult offered to Jesus Christ. However, that we be not like unto dumb dogs unable to bark, we publicly excommunicate the Emperor Frederick, as he has wilfully failed to keep his promise, and has therefore fallen under our ban; and we order you to proclaim it in all your churches. We trust in the Lord that the Emperor may still have recourse to the true Physician and return to the Church his mother. For we do not desire his damnation, as we formerly loved him truly, when we were in a lower place.—Given at the Lateran.

We may remark on this letter, that the sentence seems to have been most hastily pronounced. It was doubtless an annoyance to the Pope, when he saw the Crusade miscarrying; but he should have satisfied himself that Frederick's illness was only a pretence, before punishing him so grievously. The Papal messengers themselves seem to have confirmed the Emperor's statement.* If Frederick had lied, detection was easy. It was hardly generous to bind him to the strict letter of the law; if the Pope had wished to ruin the Crusade, he could not have effected his object better than by excommuni-

* Ad Papam ad suam excusationem suos dirigit nuncios Imperator, . . . quibus non plus credens, quam nuncios de invaliditudine Imperatoris, excommunicat, &c.—*Ric. Sax. Chron. lib. 1. c. 10.*

being the only man who could possibly bring it to a happy end. It amazes us to hear Gregory charging the Emperor with having refused to yield up Damietta in exchange for Palestine; Frederick indignantly denied this, and Cardinal Pelagius, at the Pope's elbow, could have enlightened the Holy See, had he chosen, as to the real cause of the great disaster. Frederick's envoy had been one of the few who had refused to hold out Damietta to the last. The excommunication, with which the end of the matter is taken up, seems more like the freak of a mischievous school boy, than the grave sentence of a grey-beard who held in his keeping the interests of Christendom.

Gregory did his best to set the Crusade on foot once more. He sent letters to the Duke of Austria, praising him for his zeal, though Leopold had hung back in the summer; the other Princes of Germany were also to be aroused by messengers sent for that purpose. Frederick on his side was not idle; he quitted Pozzuoli for Sessa, and from that town went to Gaeta, where he found the castle he had been building ready to receive its garrison. He then held a Parliament at Capua, whither he summoned all the Counts of the Kingdom; he regulated the new levies and the taxation, ordering the money to be paid in by next May, when he meant to cross over to Palestine; he proclaimed a Diet of the Empire, which was to be held at Ravenna in March next year. He ordered the clergy to go on celebrating the offices, although their Sovereign was an excommunicated man; if they disobeyed, their property was to be confiscated to the Crown; none of them were allowed to leave the realm. At the same time, he was careful to

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protect them. He despatched to Rome the ablest lawyers, Roffrid of Benevento, and master's exculpation before the Senate assembled in the Capitol. The Emperor sent Pope another embassy, which was more successful than the last; it consisted of two of whom was Otho of Montferrat.*

Gregory wrote two more important letters at the end of the year 1227; the first was addressed to the Emperor, 'O that you would submit yourself to Him, who has subjected to His power all nations, that you may not be found unworthy, that you would humbly recognize the long-suffering of the Roman Church, which of many provocations has never met with the spirit of gentleness! We have been perhaps with justice, for cherishing your hurtful pleasures; as it were, seething in mother's milk. All hoped that you would bring the Crusade to a glorious end; but we have come to despair of the recovery of the Holy Land to you, many are groaning over their situation (God grant that it be not their death!) instigation have undertaken the voyage, our love towards you be held in suspicion chastises the son whom he loves. Beseech you, of the number of those, of whom the Lord complains, "I have smitten them

ity was made between you and those parties, promised Pope Honorius that you would again count Roger into favour ; but he is in exile ; your son is a captive, although you made the take the Cross. People say "See how Rome ; these men ! they took the Cross, when rich and rich : but now, being thrust out by the war, they are banished men and beggars." You cannot pass over the oppression of Sicily ; men cannot endure such tyranny. We can no longer put up with your faults or delay your repentment ; we beg you to remember that it profits nothing, if he gain the whole world and lose his soul. Return then to virtue, knowing that we are ready to restore you to our favour ; otherwise we will act as God and Justice dictate.'

Gregory sent another letter into all the Kingdoms of the West, which displays the state of Palestine in the autumn of 1227. It was a copy of a letter from Gerold the Patriarch of Jerusalem, to the Bishops of Narbonne, Winchester, and Exeter, and the Grand Masters of the three Knightly Brother-

It began with a bitter expression of disappointment at the non-arrival of the Emperor in Palestine, and with an account of the consequent discomfiture of the Crusaders. 'Eight hundred knights died, who were clamorous for the breach of the truce with the Sultan. The Duke of Limburg was appointed to act as the Emperor's Lieutenant. He called a council, and openly stated his wish to break the truce. Some withstood this, saying that it was dishonourable and also dangerous. The Duke and the Pope's representatives declared that the Pope could not wish the truce to be kept ; the pilgrims could not idle away

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their time ; and if they departed, the Saracens perhaps get the start in breaking the truce. If ever, was the time to fight ; for Moadhin, Sultan of Damascus, was hard pressed by some of the other Mohammedan powers, and would accept terms of peace, if the Christians were to threaten him. At length the council determined on a march to Jerusalem next August, and resolved in the meantime to fortify first Cæsarea, and then Jaffa. The plan was carried out ; and the pilgrims, who did not know the whole of the design, were suddenly seized with a longing desire to see Jerusalem ; every man felt as if he could beat a thousand Moslems. The despatch ended with an earnest hope that faithful Christians would hasten to the succour of this small but devoted band in Palestine.*

We must regret to see Hermann von Salza lend his sanction to anything that was a breach of the laws of honour. He must have known full well, having been at the surrender of Damietta, that the eight years' truce, then agreed upon, would expire until 1229. The only circumstance that annulled it was the arrival of the Emperor in person, which had not hitherto taken place. This, as I know, is the only blot on the otherwise spotless reputation of Brother Hermann. If a man so devoted to his religion he was could prefer expediency to honour in his dealings with unbelievers, we may judge how unpious must have been the ideas of most of his contemporaries !

In the mean time, the Emperor resolved to settle himself right with his brother Monarchs. He ad-

* De Wendover.

sent a circular round all the Kingdoms of the , which throws much light upon the events of ast life. 'We are loth to say it, but our hopes been deceived; the end of all things is at hand ; is waxing cold, not only in its branches, but in ots. The Roman Empire, the bulwark of the 1, is being assailed by its own fathers. If an y were to attack us, we should grasp the sword ; when the Vicar of Christ arises against us, our rence for the blessed Peter causes us to pause mazement. Let the whole earth hear the provo- ons we have received from our step-mother the urch.' Frederick then goes through the story of life. He complains of Otho having been preferred he Empire, and of his own Kingdom having been exposed to dangers, while he was a child. He rs to the many perils he underwent in Germany, l to the whole history of his preparations for the usade, the vow at Aix-la-Chapelle, the coronation at me, the succours despatched in vain to Damietta, : three conferences with the Pope and his Legates. e sent Von Salza into Germany, to levy soldiers, d to promise pay according to their deserts. We ve up the March of Meissen, worth more than enty thousand silver marks a year, to the Land- ave of Thuringia, that he might be induced to ac- mpany us ; besides paying him five thousand marks own. We took seven hundred knights into our ty ; we had eight hundred carpenters at work on ur ships ; we had fifty galleys and other vessels ready . Brindisi ; there were not pilgrims enough to fill em.' Frederick then gives a minute account of his wn illness, and of the death of the Landgrave ; he eclares that he meant to follow his comrades in

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the ensuing May; he upbraids the Church with harshness in excommunicating him after he had done his utmost, since seven hundred German knights and two hundred and fifty Sicilian knights had been despatched to Palestine, and the four hundred Lombard knights would also have been sent off, if the Pope had not connived at their delay. Frederick affirms that he can fully account for the hundred thousand ounces of gold, which he was bound to pay; Von Salza at least was satisfied. 'Our Apostolic Lord did not deal fairly with the ambassadors we sent him; they were ready to explain all, but he would scarcely listen to them; it is said that he consulted with each Prelate in private, and warned each not to depart from the sentence arranged beforehand, prior to the defence made by our envoys; thus the Council arrived at a conclusion without hearing what we had to bring forward. Besides this, the men of Rieti, the subjects of the Church, on hearing of our embarkation, made an attack on our Kingdom, but were beaten off. For this we desire to make known to the whole world in spite of all, we shall not desist from the service of Christ. Perhaps it has been all ordered for the best; since we shall be able to do more in Palestine next year. We ask you for succour, as we mean to set forth in May. We also ask you to send envoys to us at Ravenna in Mid-Lent, when we shall hold a Diet for the maintenance of peace in Italy.'

Frederick sent another letter to the King of England, in which he shows himself well versed in our national history. 'Take warning by the past; did not the Pope hard press the Count of Toulouse and others by an unjust excommunication,

my bowed before him? Did not Innocent the
 third stir up the English Barons against King
 John, as being a foe of the Church? As soon as
 a King had crouched like a coward and handed
 over his realm to Rome, the Pope, who only
 lingered for the fat of the land, gave the Barons
 to misery and death. The Roman Church is
 a leech; she calls herself my mother and nurse;
 she is a step-mother, and the root of all evils.
 Legates go throughout all lands, binding, loosing,
 punishing; not to sow the seed of the Word, but
 to subdue all men and to wring from them their
 money. Neither churches nor hospitals are now
 cared for. This Church was founded on poverty and
 innocence at first, as its catalogue of saints proves;
 no other foundation can no man lay, than what
 Christ has laid. Now she wallows in riches; and
 it is to be feared that riches will overthrow her.
 All the wicked are eager for the fray, and hope
 to riot on the ruin of the kingdoms of the earth.
 Beware yourselves then, and overturn this unheard-of
 tyranny, this danger common to all. Remember
 that when your neighbour's wall is on fire your
 own property is at stake.'

The year 1228 seemed at its outset to promise but
 little for the cause of the Crusade. The Spiritual
 and Temporal heads of Christendom were waging a
 furious war. Frederick began the strife by hold-
 ing up to public shame the morals of the enemy's
 citizens. The clergy, debarred from wedlock by
 Idebrand's stern policy, had evaded the joyless
 existence to which they were doomed by Rome; it
 was a common custom among them to keep concu-
 bines, called in Italy *focariæ*, to cheer their hearths.

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Only the year before, Gregory had written to Conrad of Marburg, bidding him look to the state of the parish priests and the ordained men throughout Germany, nearly all of whom kept their concubines.* Frederick now issued orders that these women, with their sons and daughters, should be thrown into prison, wherever they could be found, in Sicily or Apulia. King John of England, a few years before, had avenged himself on the Pope in a similar way.

Meanwhile preparations for the Crusade were going on in spite of the excommunication. The Archbishop of Palermo, the most loyal of all the clergy, had been sent on an embassy to Sultan Kamel of Egypt, whom Frederick hoped to find better disposed towards the Christians than the other rulers of the East were. The Prelate brought home an elephant, some mules, and other costly gifts from the Sultan to the Emperor. The ruler of Cairo was not likely to be a hindrance to the Crusade. All feudal services were rigorously exacted throughout Apulia and Sicily; the Abbot of Monte Cassino alone had to provide a hundred well armed men for Palestine to be kept at his own cost; 1200 ounces were collected to pay these troops; and the Abbot was summoned to meet Frederick at Taranto.

A fresh blow was now aimed at Pope Gregory. The Emperor called to him the Frangipani and other powerful Roman patricians; he bade them value their real property at Rome; he bought the whole of it at a fixed price, and then restored it to the

* Regesta of Gregory for 1227, Middlehill MSS. The Pope says that the priests were 'gastrumargine dediti et fortasse libidine inquinati.'

bles, who now according to the feudal law became his vassals and did homage to him.* They returned back to Rome, and soon rendered good service to their new lord. Gregory had assembled a Council of Prelates from Lombardy, Tuscany, Romagna, and Apulia; he once more excommunicated Frederick on Holy Thursday, rebuking him at the same time for seizing on some lands belonging to the rebellious Romans. He sent the following letter to the Bishops of the Kingdom: — ‘ We have drawn the medicinal sword of Peter against Frederick, in the spirit of gentleness; we have placed him under the ban, as he himself had consented. But he has added sin to sin; for scorning the Keys of the Church, he has forbidden the divine offices to be celebrated, or rather performed, in his presence. Our predecessor Honorius took care to warn him respecting divers matters which he offended the Church; and we ourselves wrote to him the Cardinal of St. Sabina and Cardinal John, that they might admonish him; but they were unable to recall him to repentance. We have excommunicated him once more, because he did not last year at the time agreed; because he will not allow the Archbishop of Taranto to return to that see; because he has robbed the Templars and Hospitallers; and because he maltreats his nobles. We have ordered the suspension of the divine offices in any place where he may be; we shall proceed against him like a heretic; we shall absolve his subjects from their oath of allegiance; and we shall strip him of his Kingdom, which is our fief, and for which he has done us homage.’

* Abbas Ursperg.

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Gregory was too hasty in his measures. He was celebrating mass at St. Peter's, when the common folk, 'ministers of Satan, heirs of perdition,' hiss'd him and abused him most scurrilously, barking like dogs, whilst the Host was being elevated.* The Pope soon drove the Holy Father out of Rome; he took refuge at Rieti, travelling under a safe escort; and thence moved on to Perugia, which was under the government of Cardinal John Colonna. At the same time, Frederick was laying a tax upon all the churches of the Kingdom on behalf of Palestine. Gregory forbade them to pay anything. He sent two Minorite friars to his enemy early in May; they were charged with a letter; 'The noise and howling of the Churches of Sicily and Apulia, plundered by you, has come up into our ears. We are placed here to defend Christ's Church; we warn you to restore everything.'

The Diet, to be held at Ravenna in Lent this year, was a failure; the men of Milan and Verona robbed the German pilgrims, who were on their way to the South. This was said to have been done by the Pope's orders; 'which woe is me!' says the Abbot of Ursperg, 'is unfit to be named!' Frederick held Easter with great pomp at Barletta on the Adriatic; his joy was all the greater, on the arrival of the messenger from the Count of Acerra, his lieutenant in the Kingdom of Sicily, that Moadhin the Sultan of Damascus, the most dreaded of all the Moslem, was dead. Richard Filangieri, the Marshal, was at once sent off to Brindisi with 500 knights as a reinforcement. The Emperor supplied needy pilgrims with horses, and

* Life of Gregory.

provisions, besides having ships ready. He sent account of his struggle with the Pope to the men of Cesena, and complained of Gregory for siding with Italian traitors. He still found time to protect masteries both in Italy and Germany. The Crown of Jerusalem seemed now more easy of attainment than ever; but the heiress who had brought it to Frederick was at the point of death. The Empress Constance gave birth to a son, the last but one of the line of Hohenstaufen. She was cut off at the early age of seventeen, having had little enjoyment in her life; her step-mother had attempted to poison her; her father had quitted her side; and her husband had neglected her. She died ten days after becoming a mother, unable to survive the pains of childbirth. The infant was called Conrad by his father's desire, and was held at the font by the ambassadors of Cremona. The men of this city, the stronghold of Frederick's party in Lombardy, had engaged for the honour of acting as the sponsors of the young Prince; they gave sumptuous presents to the Emperor, who thus made them his gossips; and their women likewise sent gifts to the Empress, which must have come too late for her acceptance. Constance was buried with all due honour at Andria.* A letter of Gregory to his Legate in France gives an insight into the state of the Holy Land at this time. He complains of Frederick's treaty with Egypt, and of the kindness shown by him to Saracens. After the breach of the truce, which the Pope affirms to have been broken by the Emperor's order, the Saracens made a foray into the Christian

* Ric. San Germano. *Imago Mundi*.

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territory, and carried off great booty in cattle and prisoners. The Templars recovered part of the property; but the Count of Acerra took from them the force what they were bringing home and restored to the Saracens, keeping back part of it, so the accusation ran, for his own use. This traitor would not allow the Christians to recover goods from the Saracen plunderers; and thus the enemy became daring in their attacks. The Count also set himself to persecute the Templars and Hospitallers, by taking away their goods and privileges. The Emperor was said to have seized upon a hundred slaves by these Orders in Sicily and Apulia; these he gave up to the Saracens without any ransom being paid. He was therefore charged with favouring the interests of Mahommed more than those of Christ.

Frederick held one more Parliament at Brindisi. So great was the throng, that he was faint when his throne prepared in the open air. Hence he made his last Will and Testament, of which the substance was as follows: All Prelates, Barons, and Knights were to live in peace, as in the time of King William the Second. Raynald of Spoleto was made Constable of the Kingdom. In the event of Frederick's death the Crown of Sicily was to go to his son; and if the latter should die, it devolved on Conrad; in default of other issue, the succession passed to his daughters. All this was to be ratified by the King, and taken by the lieges. Raynald of Spoleto and Hugh of Morra swore in due form first, and the others followed. No more taxes were to be levied for the good of the Kingdom.

Frederick took and destroyed Godiano, a place near Melfi. The Lords of Polito were placed un-

and Raynald summoned the whole Kingdom to
 press the revolt; the rebels' stronghold, Torre
 Benaria, which they had newly fortified against
 the Sovereign, was destroyed, after they had sur-
 rendered on condition of having their lives spared;
 they fled to Rieti, in the Pope's country.

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A short time before these latter events, Frederick
 at length set off on his voyage to the Holy Land.
 This was the point to which the political movements
 of the last thirteen years had been tending; the
 calling of the Cross at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1215; the
 privileges up to 1220, so often granted by Pope Hono-
 rius; the bestowal of the Crown of the Empire at
 Rome in 1220; the renewed delays after the loss
 of Damietta in 1221; the conference at Veroli in
 1222; the conference at Ferentino in 1223; the
 conference at San Germano in 1225; the marriage
 of the heiress of Jerusalem in the same year; the
 fruitless journey into Lombardy in 1226; the false
 peace in 1227, followed by Pope Gregory's excom-
 munication; all these events had now at length
 reached their fitting end; the Emperor Frederick the Second
 was on his way to the East, thus treading in the
 footsteps of his Hohenstaufen forefathers and kinsmen;
 Conrad, the first Suabian monarch; of Frederick
 Barbarossa; and of Duke Frederick, the founder of
 the Teutonic Order. What might not Christendom
 expect at the hands of so vigorous and politic an
 emperor? One thing alone was wanting, the
 hearty co-operation of the Pope in the new under-
 taking. There was no mighty Saladin now in the
 East, wielding the whole strength of Islam; his
 dominion had been split up into kingdoms for his
 ferocious nephews, whose alliance was often un-

~~CHAP.~~ ^{VII.} ~~1202-1204.~~ ~~ded;~~ now, if ever, was the hour for a successful Crusade. Could it be imagined that Christendom would imitate Islam, and ruin her own efforts by her unhappy divisions at home, when on the eve of what ought to have been a great triumph?

Frederick went to Brindisi, ordering all his comrades to meet at St. Andrew of the Island. From the former port he issued an edict, which appointed Raynald his Imperial Legate in the March of Ancona. This was a direct defiance to the Pope, being an abrogation of the concessions made at the late Roman coronation. Frederick explained his reasons for taking this step in a letter to the men of Civita Nuova. 'We made our grant to the Church, without intending to give up the rights of the Empire. The Popes have abused our kindness; they have tried to withdraw our lieges from the service due to us. They have besides installed as your magistrates men who are the sons of schism and discord. We have therefore resolved to revoke our grant to the Church.' The Emperor also conferred a favour upon the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who had sailed in the previous year. Two old German friends, Anselm von Justingen and Henry von Neifen, were now at their Kaiser's side. Twenty-two galleys were to start for the East; but Frederick had only a hundred knights, and not much money; he was afterwards glad to borrow thirty thousand bezants at Cyprus. The Roman Court, learning the intention of the enemy, sent to forbid him to set sail, unless he should first gain absolution from the Holy See. Frederick made light of this command.* 'He sailed more like a pirate than as

* Old French Chronicle, printed by Bréholles.

eror,' said Gregory; 'owing to which the awful
e of the Roman Empire was less respected among
barbarous nations.'*

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rom Brindisi, the Emperor dropped down the
to Otranto. Thence he issued one more circular
he benefit of his lieges. After referring to his
for the Crusade and to the unjust excommuni-
n, he says: 'We have sent envoys to the Pope
forgiveness even more frequently than became
lignity; we have lately sent to him the Arch-
op of Magdeburg and two Judges of our Court,
they could not prevail upon him even to state
own terms. He has allowed his subjects, the
of Rieti, to make an attack upon our Kingdom.
has made use of the money subscribed for the
ade to raise soldiers for the purpose of harassing

Still we are bent on the service of Christ; we
just about to sail for Syria with a fair wind.
order you all to do your best to aid us and
cause of Palestine.'

Frederick started from Otranto on the 29th of
e; in two days he reached Corfu. At Cefalonia,
was welcomed by an Apulian subject, Count
ione, who had all things necessary in readiness.
e fleet steered from Cerigo to Candia, along
ich it coasted. On the 13th of July, the weary
agers dropped anchor at Rhodes, where they
are glad to rest. They then coasted along Lycia,
land full of interest to the Apulian worshippers
St. Nicholas, one of whom has bequeathed to us
a account of the voyage. On the 21st of July,
ey reached a harbour of Cyprus, having thus taken

* Monach. Patavinus.

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three weeks to accomplish what may now be in a couple of days.* Frederick's father, as his Imperial capacity, had erected Cyprus Kingdom for one of the Lusignans. The re King was only eleven years old, and had just his guardian, Philip of Ibelin. Frederick as his own right of wardship over the youthful Monarch and claimed homage from him. The Emperor welcomed at Limisso with great rejoicings, he been invited into Cyprus by five of the barons that country, enemies of the Ibelin faction. At their request, he laid a scheme for possessing himself of the Regency of the Kingdom. He sent a messenger couched in honied terms, to John of Ibelin, the actual Regent, calling him his dearest uncle, begging him to come and to bring the young King as his ward. The pair came accordingly; they came in mourning for a kinsman, probably the deceased Philip; but Frederick bade them lay aside their black garments, giving them scarlet robes in change; he also invited them to dinner for the next day. While at the meal, they found themselves surrounded by armed men, and Frederick cried with a loud voice: 'I want two things of you: first, the town and castle of Beyrout; secondly, the revenues of Cyprus, during the King's minority. The Emperor laid his hand on his head, and swore by his Imperial Throne that he would make good his claims at any cost. The Regent at first refused to yield to these pretensions, but at last he said: 'I am ready for the love of Christ, and

* Breve Chronicon Vaticanum. By a comrade of Frederick. He makes the fleet to consist of forty galleys.

own honour, to undergo anything.' He was
l to give twenty hostages, among whom
two of his own sons; they were chained to
any servants of the Emperor, arm to arm.
of Ibelin made his escape with his retinue in
night, hearing that his capture was being
ed. He began to fortify three castles near
a, saying, 'Our face shall not hereafter see
nperor's face.'

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derick remained at Limisso until the 17th of
st. By this time he had been joined by many

Syrian vassals, besides his Cyprian partizans.
ow rode across the island towards Nicosia, and
e way was met by Bohemond the Prince of
ch at the head of sixty knights and other armed

The Emperor entered Nicosia, attended by
ing of Cyprus; John of Ibelin took refuge in
rong castle of Dieu d'Amour. A treaty of peace
at last made between the contending parties.

erick was acknowledged as Guardian of young
Henry, whom he took with him to Palestine;
he placed his own Bailiffs in the Castles of
is, to collect the revenues for him. He set free
ostages, receiving the homage of John of Ibelin
eyrout; this noble however was exempted from
on before the great Court of Jerusalem.*

ie Emperor set sail from Famagosta on the 3rd
eptember; he dropped down the Syrian coast
Beyrout, Sidon, and Tyre, and reached Acre
our days, having thus spent more than two
ths in his voyage from Apulia to Palestine.

Old French Chronicle. Breve Chronicon Vaticanum. Jor-
Marin. Sanuto.

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He probably trod those holy shores for the first time if not with the devout enthusiasm of a Chateaubriand or a Lamartine, at least with the hope of achieving something great for Christendom, after many years spent in preparations. The first King of Jerusalem had been a German Prince; the present Godfrey was a ruler whom even an Emperor might be proud to succeed. The present enterprise, which had Jerusalem's Crown for its mark, was somewhat akin to Frederick's famous adventure in 1212, when he won Germany. But in that undertaking, he had been fain to trust to chance, to the favour of Rome, to the loyalty and union of his confederates; here he must place all his reliance on his own skill and forethought, for there was little hope of favour from Rome, or of loyal union amongst his Crusader comrades.

At first all promised fair. Clergy and laity came forth from Acre to greet the Emperor. Templars and Hospitallers knelt before him, kissing his knees; and the whole army saw in him Frederick the saviour of Israel. The Duke of Burgundy had hitherto held the command, aided by the Grand Masters of the Three Brotherhoods. Powerful Prelates were also at Acre; among them were the Archbishops of Nazareth, Caesarea, and Narbonne. Gerold, who had been successively Count of Cluny, Bishop of Valence, and Patriarch of Jerusalem, had of course great influence in the councils of the Crusaders. There were moreover English Prelates, William de Bruère from Exeter, who was spending 4000 marks, bequeathed by his uncle, on the Crusade*, and Peter des

* Regesta of Gregory for 1227. Middlehill MS

Winchester. This Poitevin Bishop was one of the worst of England's rulers. The Abbot of Murbach, the Count of Wurtemberg, with several Swiss knights, the famous Werner von Bollanden, and many of Sidon, were in the camp. But it was found that many of the pilgrims would not remain in the Holy Land any longer.

For the first few days the Emperor, who had made Riccordana his head-quarters, was treated with the greatest respect; but all was changed on the arrival of two Minorites with the news, that he was under the Pope's ban, and that he had added to his guilt of presumption to his other sins, in sailing for Acre without the absolution of his Holiness. Gregory charged the Patriarch and the Grand Master of the Templars and Hospitallers to allow no one to associate with Frederick.* He had also insisted on striven to detach the Teutonic Order from their service, by granting them a long Charter.† The Emperor uttered bitter complaints to the army on account of the unjust sentence, and declared that his illness at sea in 1227 had been no subterfuge. His comrades advised him to give satisfaction to the Pope, to whom he accordingly sent the Archbishop of Bari and the Count of Malta; in the mean time they refused to sit at table with Frederick, and denied him the kiss of peace.‡ The Templars and Hospitallers became his worst foes; the Venetians, with their characteristic wariness, stood neuter; and Frederick found that he could only rely on the Pisans and Genoese and on his trusty Teutonic Order, the

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* Ric. San Germano.

† Regesta of Gregory for 1228. Middlehill MSS.

‡ De Wendover.

of Jerusalem and Cyprus. Great
were either lukewarm or openly
General; Frederick is called by one
who hunts in spite of the hounds,
been negotiating with the Moslem;
to march on Jaffa. All the Crusad
except the Grand Masters of the Te
pitallers, who talked loudly of th
Church, and of the impossibility
an excommunicated man; but they
the Emperor, if nothing was done i
Indignant at their conduct, he set o
and they followed in his rear at t
day's march; remembering howeve
had seven thousand Turkish light
proposed a compromise, and it was s
should be issued in the name of Ge
tian Commonwealth, without any
Emperor's name. § 'Who,' says th
spurg, remarking on the Pope's co
pondering this, can help bewailing
currences, which seem to be the r
of a falling Church?'

der, they reached Jaffa, the future base of all rations, which had therefore to be fortified, before fresh work could be undertaken. The Crusaders brought no food or baggage with them, trusting the ships which had been chartered at Acre. But sudden storm had arisen; and owing to the roughness of the sea, the army was left for seven days at sea without provisions. Loud were the outcries among the pilgrims; many advised a retreat to Acre; at last, the storms abating their fury, several vessels were enabled to enter the port of Jaffa, laden with corn, barley, and wine; the pilgrims purchased food, some for one month, others for two months. Many ships, great and small, were now passing to and fro between Acre and Jaffa, freighted with provisions.* The work of rebuilding the walls and castle was being briskly carried on; and the chronicler of San Germano assures us, that those ruins of Jaffa will be a memorial for ever to all posterity; Frederick and the army toiled on for whole days without ceasing; and before the ensuing winter, the work was so well done, that nothing ever passed it.

It may be asked, what were the Saracens doing all this time?† The truth was, that Islam was in a tottering condition; Sultan Moadhin, the most worthy of the kinsmen of the great Saladin, had died a year before, leaving a child, Daoud, to succeed him at Damascus. The deceased Sultan had before his death fallen at variance with his brother, Sultan Kamel of Cairo, and had called in Gelaleddin, the mighty

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† Wilken, Michaud, and Reinaud's Extracts are my authorities here.

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ruler of Kharizmia. Kamel, on the other hand, looked to the West for aid; he had sent the Emir Eddin to Frederick, whom he thought the most powerful of Christian Princes. This envoy visited the Emperor in Sicily, and had promised Jerusalem as the price of his alliance; the Pope kept entirely in the dark as to these negotiations. Matters were much simplified by the death of Saladin; Kamel instantly seized upon the Southern part of that monarch's dominions, including Jerusalem; and then informed his surviving brother Ashraf, the Sultan of Aleppo, that he was now about to return into Egypt. Ashraf, frightened at the pending Crusade, agreed to leave Kamel undisturbed in his new acquisitions; and the two brothers entered into a project to despoil their nephew, the young Daoud.*

Kamel had expected that the Emperor would come to the East at the head of an immense army which would sweep everything before it. On the hearing of Frederick's arrival at Acre with mere handful of men, he began to repent of his late invitation.† He and his brother Ashraf lay encamped at Gaza to the South, while Daoud had halted his men at Nablous to the North; Frederick lying at Jaffa between the two Moslem armies. The Christian intruder had no object in fighting, if he could gain the great prize, Jerusalem, by means of negotiations; almost as soon as he had landed at Acre he had begun to treat with Kamel, who had shown himself gracious to the Imperial envoys, the Count of Acerra and the Lord of Sidon. The Sultan had rec-

* Ibn-Alatir.

† Abulfeda.

, jewels, gold and silver plate, and the choicest of the loom, as presents from his Christian r.* The Patriarch, Frederick's bitter foe, with pleasure on the slights, which he the Emperor received. According to him, ltan at first declared, that the Christians had ht to fortify Jaffa or to plunder the country, g as the Truce lasted. Frederick ordered all ul been robbed from the villages, which he now under his protection, to be restored. Kamel on condescended to send his rival some means, those of a light-armed soldier and barber, that he had plenty more in his country. Frederick's own Notary was now despatched to the , but only met with insult, and was robbed by racens on his return. He was again sent, to great scandal of the Pilgrims, carrying the ror's own coat of mail, helmet, and sword, a message, as was rumoured, that his Master l not take up arms against Kamel. The Sultan, ing by the mouth of one of his Courtiers, d the presence of Thomas Count of Acerra, whose arrival the articles of truce made pro- ; still the pilgrims, to the number of 500, e may believe Gerold, were either killed or a prisoners by the Saracens, who did not selves lose a tenth part of that number. A sulman prisoner, on the other hand, was sent : to Kamel, arrayed in rich garments; but the istians, who escorted him, were robbed and a narrow escape from death. Frederick asked Sultan to send Saracen guards for the Christian

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* Old French Chronicle, in Bréholles.

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army; these came 'like wolves turned into shepherds.' Dancing and singing girls, the *Almehs* of the East, and other loose characters, the very mention of whom makes Gerold blush, were sent into the Christian camp, in order to suit the Emperor's taste; Frederick donned the Saracen garb, and was lavish of his gifts to his foes, as if desirous of purchasing peace. Long before Christmas, 1228, he ordered biscuits and galleys and all his plate to be got ready for a sea voyage, to the great scorn of the Arabs.* Balian, the Lord of Sidon, accompanied the Count of Acerra; and Kamel, now showing himself more gracious, sent presents to Frederick of gold, silver, precious stones, and silk; elephants, dromedaries, horses, bears, and apes were also offered as gifts. Many difficulties were made; Schems-eddin and Fakr-eddin, the latter of whom had already visited Frederick in Sicily, were the two Emirs employed by Sultan Kamel. The Emperor was fond of conversing with Fakr-eddin on philosophy; and if we may believe Yafei, their opinions were very much in unison. Certain of the Frank nobles, eager to effect Frederick's ruin, wrote to the Sultan, who sent their letter to the Emperor; the intended victim for a time dissembled his rage at their treachery. His reply to Kamel has been preserved by Dehebi; 'I am your friend; I am, as you know, above all the Princes of the West. It was you who brought me hither; if I go back without gaining something, I lose all my honour. After all, Jerusalem gave birth to our religion; and have you not destroyed it, so that it is in the last

* Letter of Gerold, in Raynaldus.

of misery? Give it back to me just as it is, [may uphold my renown. I will then return and renounce all the advantages I might gain it.’

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Frederick had at first demanded, that all the which the Franks had ever held in the East should be given up to him; thus overturning all Saladin had effected. He had also claimed immunity from taxation for all the natives of his dom, who might trade at Damietta or Rosetta. Kamel well knew that, owing to the divided of feeling in the Christian host, these high could not be enforced. At last, in the spring 1229, the Emperor came down to more reasonable conditions. ‘I only made those lofty demands,’ he told Fakr-eddin, turning from the discussion Aristotle and Averrhoes to more serious business, ‘to keep up my credit in the West; that was only object in coming hither.’ He declared years afterwards, that the Papal Court, besides winning many hindrances in his way by means of Legate, had warned the Sultan not to yield up Jerusalem to the Emperor. He affirmed that he had seen the bearers of the Papal letters, and that he had these documents in his possession, to prove the truth of his statement.* Gregory himself accounts for the scanty advantages gained by Frederick in Palestine by saying, ‘that the Almighty did not deign to confer more glory on the Christians;’ as setting down to the account of Providence the effects of Papal misconduct.†

The Emperor is said to have knighted his friend

* See his letters for 1239.

† De Wendover, for 1235.

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Fakr-eddin, who bore the Imperial arms on his banner until he was slain by the soldiers of St. Louis, ten years later.* The fame of the Western invader lingered long in the East; when young Joinville, in a day of disaster, mentioned that he claimed kin with Frederick, the Saracen Emir at once answered; 'I shall love you the more for it.' The Monarch turned to account his thorough knowledge of philosophy, geometry, and mathematics, by sending hard problems to the Sultan, who had them solved by a Sheikh in his train, and then returned them, along with fresh difficulties, to his Christian brother.† The customs of the East are still much the same as in the days of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.

It is strange, that Frederick and Kamel never had an interview. They much resembled one another in character, in habits, and in their political situation. The Sultan of Cairo, like his friend from the West, was a Sovereign magnificent in his tastes, determined to enforce order in his realm, delighting to converse with learned men, and taking pleasure in beautifying his capital;‡ he was besides suspected of being very loose in his religious notions. The bigots of Christendom railed at Frederick for gaining too little; the bigots of Islam abused Kamel to his face for granting too much. 'After all,' said the Sultan, 'we are only giving up churches and ruins; and if Frederick makes a breach in the agreement, I can easily recover Jerusalem.'§ Still so great was the wrath of the Moslem at what they considered a traitorous surrender and a betrayal of the renown of Saladin, that Kamel was

* Joinville. Makrizi.

† Abulfeda.

† Makrizi.

§ Yafei.

ed to send envoys to the Caliph, a phantom still
ering at Bagdad, and to other Mohammedan
aces, in order to justify his conduct. He probably
not on this occasion put his excuses into verse, as
his usual custom in transacting business. After-
da, when the Holy City was to be evacuated, the
Jem broke into loud groans ; the place, which
esteemed next to Mecca and which was hal-
ed by the foot-mark of their Prophet, was to be
n up to Idolaters. The Imaum of the Mosque
Omar remonstrated with Kamel, and announced
yers at an unusual time at the entrance of the Royal
e. The Sultan drove off the fanatics and seized
the silver lamps and other valuables from the
sque. This added fresh fuel to the flame ; and
ses were chanted on the sad fate of Jerusalem.
Alatir calls its surrender an act of inexcusable
shedness, and prays Allah to restore it to Islam.
Other Eastern Chronicler, Ibn-giouzi, produced an
azing effect from the pulpit at Damascus, at that
e besieged by Sultan Ashraf, by announcing the
s of Jerusalem. We may safely affirm, that Fre-
rick with his little army would never have gained
s object, had there not been quite as much dis-
sion and jealousy among the Moslem, as among
eir Christian foes.

At last the Emperor, whose patience was at an
ad, called four Syrian nobles before him, and told
em, that he was too poor to stay any longer
the country ; and that the Sultan had offered him
Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Sidon, together
with some unimportant villages lying on the roads
between the great towns. Not one foot of ground
was to be restored to the Monasteries. The Grand

the English Bishops, on being summoned, all declared that they could not be present, unwilling to risk the Patriarch's displeasure. However, his own wish as he partly said, he wrote down to the Sultan's messengers and to the Emperor by a certain secret channel, that he would be present, ever saw: and with the Emperor's consent. The German Crusaders heard, and were that to visit the Holy Sepulchre, which was worth anything, so Frederick and Hermann said, the Emperor would be present, and make them raise a song of praise to him, and make them raise a song of praise to the Emperor he had won. Kamel had sent a messenger named Sahab-ed-din to Jeddah to deliver the treaty. The Arab swore to the treaty in his master's name and received the Imperial seal. Being a firm as steel, he sent back two messengers to the Sultan, with the news of the conclusion of the treaty. The accused Emperor was promised as a lasting peace. He has sworn the oath with his right hand: may he gnaw his hand, if he dares to break his word.* On the part of Frederick, the Grand Master of the Temple, the Count of Acerra, and the Lord of Sicily, were present to Kamel, and received the Sultan's seal. Daniel of Damascus made difficulties, saying that he knew that his uncles Kamel and Hermann would sell him of his lands, and that he would be obliged to give away what had never belonged to them, he therefore refused to be a party to the treaty.

* The Arabic word, *qadim*, means 'by God'. The Arabic word, *qadim*, means 'with my right and a right hand'; so a pun is intended. To break an oath means 'to be forced to take it.'

At this juncture, Von Salza sent a letter to the patriarch, begging him to join the army on its march to Jerusalem, and saying that the Emperor was desirous of his advice. 'We knew Frederick's chery,' Gerold remarks in his letter to the Pope; 'but we were aware that he would make off instantly.' Here follows some abuse of Brother Hermann. The Treaty had been made on the 18th of February, 1229, and consisted of nine clauses. 1. Jerusalem was to be given up to the Christians. 2. Geemelata, which is the Temple of Solomon, with its precincts and its keys, was to remain in the hands of the Saracens. 3. No Saracen was to be prevented from making a pilgrimage to Bethlehem. 4. If a Frank entered the Temple to pray, he might do so; but he was not to make stay. 5. The Saracens were to have their own laws in cases of outrages perpetrated among themselves. 6. The Emperor was to give no aid to a Frank or Saracen in carrying on any war against the Saracens during the Truce. 7. He was to keep check all those who designed to attack Sultan Melik. 8. He was bound to aid the Sultan in preventing breaches of the Truce. 9. Tripoli, and its territory, Karak, Castel Blanco, Tortosa, Argato, and Antioch, were to be left as they were; and the Emperor was to forbid his men to aid them.

This was the famous Treaty of 1229, the chief fruit of Frederick's Crusade. It undid part of the mischief caused by Saladin forty years before; and obtained advantages for Christendom, which neither the craft of Philip of France nor the courage of Richard of England had been able to win. No

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Crusader, since Godfrey de Bouillon, had effected so much as Frederick the Second. What would he not have obtained, had the Pope, the Patriarch, and the Orders given him their hearty co-operation? It is possible that he might in that case have smitten Cairo to the South, and Damascus to the North; that he might have restored the old Kingdom of Jerusalem, as it existed before Saladin's fatal inroad; and that he might have alarmed even distant Mecca and Bagdad.

The Patriarch was not too well pleased with the Treaty. 'We asked to see it,' he says, 'and we found some surprising things in the copy of it sent to us by Von Salza. We took counsel, and saw that the Sultan of Damascus might still annoy us; that there was no mention of the Church in the Treaty; and that the Saracen worship was still allowed in the Lord's Temple. We therefore refused the pilgrims leave to enter the Holy Sepulchre, and we forbade the celebration of the divine offices.' Von Salza writes to the Pope in a very different strain. He begins by praising the works at Jaffa. 'The Emperor and all worked so hard, that the building was as good as it ever was before, by Sexagesima Sunday.' Hermann then refers to the Treaty; 'St. George was restored to us; and we are allowed to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem and Montfort, our new castle, which we began to erect this year in the mountains. It seems probable that if our Lord the Emperor had crossed the sea with the favour and peace of the Church, the business of the Holy Land would have prospered much more. The Truce is made for ten years; the Sultan is to build no new Castles. The Emperor purposes to visit Jeru-

Jerusalem, and to wear the Crown there; for that advice has been given him by the majority of the Pilgrims. I cannot describe the joy of the folk at what has been done. Brother Leonard came to us at Jaffa on the 7th of March, with rumours from the parts beyond sea; we would that these rumours had been better and different from what they are. But the Archbishop of Reggio, who has been sent to your feet, will explain how, and in what manner, we attended the Emperor. We are ready to obey your future commands.'

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The rumours, to which Brother Hermann, assuming a tone of grave rebuke, refers in the foregoing letter, were nothing less than the tidings of the invasion of Apulia by a Papal army, led by John de Brienne. If Frederick hoped to save his European Kingdom from the brigandage prompted by Roman emissaries, he must hurry back thither as fast as he could. Still Jerusalem must be visited, where no Roman Emperor had been seen since Heraclius lost it six hundred years before. The present Cæsar accordingly set forth from Jaffa, at the head of his rejoicing army, leaving the men of Cyprus behind him. He was accompanied on the journey by an Imaum of the Mosque of Omar, who gave the following details of the grandson of Barbarossa to the Chronicler Ibn-Giouzi: 'The Emperor was red and bald; he had weak eyes: had he been a slave, he would not have fetched 200 drachms. Whenever he spoke, he railed at the Christian religion. He saw an inscription in gold letters on the Holy Chapel, "Saladin, in such a year, purged the holy city from the presence of those who worship many Gods." He then asked, why bars had

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been placed on the windows of the Chapel. "To keep out the birds," was the answer. "You may keep out the birds," said Frederick, "but God is sending you hogs in their place." Thus scornfully did he refer to his fellow-Christians. "When noon came," says the Imaum, "we knelt for prayer, and no one attempted to hinder us. Among those who knelt was an old Sicilian Mussulman, who had been the Emperor's tutor in Dialectics."

Another Mohammedan was an attentive observer of Frederick's conduct. Schems-eddin, the Cadi of Nablous, was sent by Sultan Kamel to escort the Emperor to Jerusalem. He had orders to prevent the occurrence of any thing which might displease the Frank. Among other things, no preaching was to be allowed in the Mosque of Omar, and no cries from the minarets were to be uttered by the Muezzins. On the day of the Emperor's arrival in Jerusalem, the Cadi forgot to give the necessary orders; so every thing went on as usual. One of the Muezzins made the most of his opportunity, by shouting at the top of his voice those parts of the Koran, which are directed against Christianity. Among other texts, he propounded, 'How can it be possible, that God had for His son Jesus the son of Mary?' Frederick's lodging happened to be close to the minaret; he overheard the Cadi rebuking the Muezzin and forbidding him to shout any more texts. Next morning the Emperor asked, 'What has become of the man, who shouted from the minaret?' The Cadi answered, that he feared his Christian guest might be annoyed. 'You are wrong,' said Frederick, 'why out of compliment to me should you fail in your duty, your law,

and your religion?' The impression left on the Cadi's mind was, that the Emperor was no true Christian.

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One of the inducements which brought Frederick to Jerusalem, if Makrizi may be trusted, was a desire to hear the call of the Moslem to prayer. He was greatly charmed with his first view of the Mosque of Omar; he then wished to see with his own eyes the pulpit whence the Imaums delivered their sermons. While he was there, a Christian priest happened to come in with the Gospels in his hand. Frederick remembered the agreement, which forbade any insult to the Moslem in their mosques, or any disturbance of their religious rights. He was angry with the priest, and bade him come no further, swearing that he would severely punish any Christian who should enter the Mosque without a special license. 'We are all the servants and slaves of the Sultan,' said he; 'he has given us our Churches of his own free will, and we must not abuse his kindness.*' The Arab Chroniclers long remembered Frederick's learning and theological bias. The Cadi Gemal-eddin, who visited Sicily a generation later, says that this Emperor was remarkable among the Princes of his time for his fine qualities, and for his delight in philosophy, dialectics, and medicine. 'His inclination,' the Cadi affirms, 'carried him towards Islam, for he had been bred in Sicily, where there are many Mussulmen.'

These witnesses of Frederick's conduct on the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem made acquaintance with the champion of Christianity at a most unfavourable

* I cannot help suspecting a little Oriental exaggeration in the report of this speech.

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moment. He had just heard how the Church had been pouring an army of marauders into his Kingdom, who were robbing, torturing, and murdering his faithful subjects. A galley from Apulia had brought the news, and had gone back with orders to Henry of Malta, to bring a fleet instantly for the purpose of escorting the Emperor home.* At such a moment, he was not likely to be sparing in his sarcasms on the Vicar of Christ; he would probably give full play to his wit, in contrasting the theories of the Church with her practice. On Saturday, the 17th of March, he made his entry into Jerusalem at the head of the joyful Crusaders. On the morrow, Sunday, he prepared for a repetition of the pageant in which he had already been the leading actor at Palermo, at Aix-la-Chapelle, and at Rome. Godfrey de Bouillon had refused to wear a crown of gold, where his Saviour had worn a crown of thorns; but Godfrey's successors had been less scrupulous. This Crown of Jerusalem was now within Frederick's grasp. Many had advised him to have the Divine offices celebrated on the occasion, but Von Salza, always on the side of moderation, withstood this. 'We dissuaded it,' says the good Knight, 'acting like one who is zealous for the exaltation of both Church and Empire, because we saw no advantage either to Frederick or to the Church in the project. So he did not hear mass, following our advice, but simply took the Crown from the Altar without any consecration, and carried it to his Throne, as is the custom. The Archbishops of Palermo and Capua and many other nobles were present; rich and poor were there.

* Old French Chronicle.

He bade us speak both in Latin and German on his behalf.*

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The scene must have been of a striking character. The Christians were once more installed in the possession of the Holy Sepulchre, after having for the previous forty years bewailed its loss. The loyal subjects of the Empire, Germans and Italians, were overjoyed. The faithful Apulian Prelates were at their master's side. The Church was probably thronged with Pisan sailors, Genoese crossbowmen, and German knights. Foremost among the latter would be Von Salza's noble Brotherhood, gazing with reverence upon their Kaiser, and arrayed in their white cloaks marked with the black cross. A few Templars and Hospitallers, proud of their French refinement, scowled upon the scene and treasured up its details for the ear of the Patriarch, to be transmitted to Rome. The noblest hero of the age now became spokesman; the tongue, as well as the sword of Brother Hermann, was ever at his Kaiser's service. Gerold groans over the long speech that followed in praise of Frederick, couched in two languages. Von Salza began with the taking of the Cross at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1215. He explained the reason of the respites granted to Frederick, and complained of the harshness of the Church, declaring his belief that the Pope himself could not approve the charges brought forward. He avowed to the whole Christian host, that the Emperor would act for the honour of God, as he had promised long before. His master would not extol himself, but so high as God had raised him, so low would he humble himself before

* Gerold says that Von Salza spoke in German and French.

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the most Highest and before His Vicar. 'The joy at the Emperor's entry into the City, and during our speech, cannot be explained.'

Here the Patriarch Gerold takes up the tale. 'Frederick received offerings, in despite of the priests, for the repair of the walls. After dinner, he went out, and called for the English Bishops and the Chiefs of the Religious Orders; still making Von Salza his mouth-piece, he asked them to help in rebuilding the walls; they promised to consult together. He demanded their answer for the morrow. Next day (Monday), he prepared to set off, together with all his people, though the Chiefs hastened to affirm that they were ready to help him in the work of rebuilding the ramparts. He went off towards Jaffa; and the Pilgrims, hearing the name of Mohammed still proclaimed in Jerusalem, left the City with one accord and followed him; he reached Acre in Mid-Lent. He in vain tried to inveigle the German knights into following him home; they stood in awe of excommunication.' The Patriarch has sadly garbled the history of the proceedings at Jerusalem, as will be seen on comparing his account with that of Von Salza. The German says, 'On the Monday, the Patriarch sent the Archbishop of Caesarea, and laid the Holy Sepulchre and all the Holy Places under an Interdict. The whole army was much disquieted, and was wroth with the Church for taking this step without any seeming cause. Frederick sent for the Archbishop of Caesarea, (who did not appear) and for all the Prelates; he complained publicly in their presence of the Interdict having been laid on the Holy Places, just rescued from the Saracens. He said, that if he or his men

had offended the Patriarch in aught, he was ready to make the Prelates umpires in the dispute. After having busied himself about the repair of the walls, he went off towards Jaffa that very day. We heard afterwards, that the Interdict had been laid on the City, on account of the Saracens still holding the Temple of Solomon, and worshipping there. But you must know that they have only a few unarmed priests there, to offer prayer and to clean the building. The Emperor's soldiers keep the outer doors, and grant access to the Saracens at their own pleasure; this we have seen and heard. The Christians also receive the offerings made in the House of the Lord, at the stone where Jesus Christ was offered up. Old men say moreover, that after the Saracens lost Palestine, the unbelievers were allowed to have their own laws in almost all the Christian cities, and they worshipped, just as the Christians do now at Damascus. God knows, that the Emperor could not make the Truce otherwise; he did not make it, in the way he could have wished. We write this, that you may know the truth, if any one should be writing the contrary. Our Brother, the bearer of these presents, will tell you more.'

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The last part of the letter clearly refers to what the Patriarch might be expected to write. Von Salza, we see from this letter, understood the principles of toleration far better than most men of his day. He seems to have had a suspicion, which indeed proved correct, that the Church party would wilfully confound the Holy Sepulchre with the Temple of Solomon, in other words, with the Mosque of Omar. A great effort would be made to induce all Christendom to believe, that the Holy Sepulchre had

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been left in the hands of the unbelievers by the godless Emperor. Frederick, in his despatch to the Pope, gives all the glory to God, describes the famine at Jaffa, and the advantages gained by the Truce, and thus proceeds: 'We shall tell you more openly of the help received by us from the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and from the Masters and Brethren of the Three Orders; but we cannot be silent on the conduct of the Master and Brethren of St. Mary of the Germans; from the beginning they have stood by us most loyally. We entered Jerusalem on Saturday, March 18, to the great joy of all; we reverently visited the Tomb of the Living God, like a Catholic Emperor. On the next day, Sunday, we wore the Crown there, to the honour of the Most Highest; and we took measures for the rebuilding of the walls, which will be carried on in our absence. The Sultan is bound to restore those captives whom he did not give up after the loss of Damietta.' The walls of Jerusalem did indeed stand in need of a new Nehemiah; they had been razed to the ground ten years before this time by the dreaded Sultan Moadhin. The only part of them left standing by him was the huge mass known to us as the Tower of David, said to be built on, and indeed to form part of, the renowned Tower of Hippicus; this the Emperor bestowed on his trusty Teutonic Order.* It is asserted that he burnt his military engines, or gave them to the Saracens, after the Truce had been made. He ordered Eudes de Montbeillard to remain as his Bailiff at Jerusalem, though he afterwards summoned him to Acre.† The Pope declared that a covenant had been arranged between Christ and Belial.‡

* Fran. Pipin. † Old French Chronicle. ‡ Raynaldus.

‘The way in which the Patriarch and the Religious Orders behaved, after Frederick’s return to Acre, and in the civil wars, was clearer than day-light.’ Thus says Richard of San Germano; the English Chronicler gives us some particulars of the transactions in Palestine. Frederick seems to have caused great scandal in the first place by crowning himself, by sitting in the Patriarchal Throne, and by wearing the Crown when on his way to the Palace of the Hospitallers, where he held his Court. In his own Palace at Acre, where he had to wait some time for his naval convoy, he feasted with the Saracens and brought in Christian dancing girls for their entertainment; worse excesses are said to have ensued. He adopted their customs; and it was a general matter of complaint, that no one but himself knew the terms of the famous Treaty, called in Arabic *mosepha*. It was said that it contained a condition, which bound the Emperor to aid the Sultan against Christians as well as against Saracens. Some Canons at Acre had been robbed of their harbour-dues. The Archbishop of Nicosia in Cyprus had been plundered. On the other hand, a schismatical Syrian bishop had been sheltered from the persecution of the Patriarch. The Emperor had seized upon oblations, made in different Churches. On Palm Sunday, he had ordered the preachers to be dragged from their pulpits, and had imprisoned them. At Easter he had besieged the Patriarch, the two English Bishops, and the Templars, in their houses; but without success. Gregory, in writing to the Duke of Austria, an old Crusader, imputes four crimes to Frederick. ‘He has given up to the Sultan the power of the sword, taken from the altar of

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St. Peter's, thus renouncing the honour of the Empire. He has left the temple of God in the hands of the Saracens. He has left Antioch and other places exposed to the Pagans, if they break the truce. He has entered into a League against the Christians. Gregory goes on to say that he has heard of Frederick's besieging Gerold and the Templars for five days at Acre, meaning to rob them, and of his carrying off arms belonging to the Christian Commonwealth, besides destroying some galleys. Copies of these charges were sent to the King of France and to his Archbishops.

This quarrel with the Templars is easily explained. The Emperor had once more encamped at Recor-dana, near Acre, and had entered into fresh engagements with Sultan Kamel, who was at that time waging war on his brother Ashraf. The Christian Chief wished the Templars to place the Pilgrim's Castle in his hands; they shut their gates and said, that if he did not depart, they would put him in a certain place, whence he would never come forth.* When the Emperor went to bathe in the Jordan, a common custom with pilgrims in all ages, the treacherous Templars informed Kamel how easily Frederick might be surprised. The noble Mohammedan sent back the letter to the intended victim.† The Order of the Temple was already deeply tainted with that spirit of pride and insubordination, which has been set forth by a Master's hand. Children were alive at this very time, who would see in their old age the appalling doom of the powerful Brotherhood. The Hospitallers have identified their

* Hugo Plagensis.

† Michaud.

me with Rhodes and Malta; the Teutonic Order
 and the foundation of the Kingdom of Prussia; but
 the Templars passed away for ever, long before the
 Middle Ages had fled.

Frederick had few friends on his side, but these
 took care to reward. When at Acre, he granted
 less than seven Charters to Hermann von Salza.
 He confirmed an exchange made by the Order with
 the Count of Amigdala, whereby the brave knights
 gained the strong Castle of Montfort, a new bulwark.
 They had a grant of 6400 bezants from the revenues
 of Acre. They were also presented with King Bald-
 win's Palace at Jerusalem, and with a barbican near
 the Holy Sepulchre. A lady complained to Fre-
 derick of his granting away her property to his
 favourite Order; she obtained her rights on proving
 her case. The Pisans had been most loyal through-
 out the whole campaign. They were now allowed
 to hold their own Courts in Acre, as of yore; they
 recovered their old privilege of freedom from tolls in
 the Kingdom of Jerusalem; and they had free access
 to the Holy City, both in going and returning.
 Their three Consuls complained to the Emperor of
 Thomas of Acerra; and the injury done them was
 soon redressed. It would seem that this noble-
 man had been sent back to Acre early in the spring,
 whence he had transmitted a letter to his master,
 with full details of the bloody war then raging
 in Apulia. If Frederick would retain his maternal
 Realm, he must hurry back thither to counteract
 the designs of his Holiness, who was no follower of
 the advice given to his great predecessor, 'Put up
 thy sword into its sheath.' The Count had added,
 that the harbours of the Kingdom were filled with

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armed spies, all on the look-out for the return of Frederick.

There is no chapter in the history of human perverseness more strange, than the conduct of Gregory towards his discarded friend. He excommunicated him in 1227 for not sailing to Palestine; he excommunicated him again in 1228 for sailing, without having first been absolved. He did his utmost to cripple Frederick's efforts for the good of Christendom, thwarting by means of the Legate every measure taken by the Emperor. In 1229, the Pope viewed with displeasure the campaign in Palestine; he viewed with still greater displeasure the return to Apulia. Can we wonder at those outbursts of Frederick on the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem, which so startled his new Moslem friends? On reviewing this campaign, the Second Act of the Fifth Crusade, which wiped out the disaster at Damietta, we are tempted to agree with honest Freigedank, who probably gives utterance to the thoughts of the German Pilgrims, Von Salza among them:

'O what in the world can a Kaiser do,
Since Christians and heathen, clergy too,
Are striving against him with might and main?
'Tis enough to craze e'en Solomon's brain!
Since Frederick does the best he can,
Upon us they needs must lay the ban.' *

The Italian poets were as loud in praise of the Emperor as the Germans. Marquard of Padua dwells on the fact, that Frederick won his victories by peaceful rather than by warlike means. The Imperial patience had achieved great things on

* Von Raumer gives the old German Verses.

her side of the sea. Let Jerusalem rejoice; Jesus
once been her King, and his place was now filled
Frederick, who trod in the footsteps of God, and
wed himself to be the Defender of the Faith, and
ver of peace.*

Gregory's agent was a man like-minded with his
ter. Some idea may be formed of the hatred
e by Gerold to Frederick from the letter written
he Patriarch, just as the Emperor was leaving
stine. Things the very reverse of truth are
ed in this most venomous composition, and the
nts of the Crusade are misrepresented. 'When
Emperor returned to Acre from Jerusalem, he
d to curry favour with the townsmen. All were
ut to leave Palestine; we wished to retain some
ights in our pay with the money bequeathed by
late King of France, since there was nothing in
e Truce to prevent the Sultan of Damascus from
acking us. The Emperor convened an assembly
all the Prelates and Pilgrims on the sea-shore,
ised us and the Grand Master of the Temple; and
ade any knight, under pain of punishment, to
ain in the land. He posted archers and cross-
men, so as to prevent access to us or to the

- * Qui paciendo magis quam pugnando domat omnes,
Cujus et hic et ibi vicit paciencia summos,
Cui munimento sunt leges, arma decori.

Jerusalem, gaude, . . .
Rex quia magnificus, Jesus olim, nunc Fridericus,
Promptus uterque pati, sunt in te magnificati.
Obtulit ille prior semet pro posteriore,
Et pro posterior sua seque prioris honore.
Hic Deus, ille Dei pius ac prudens imitator,
Defensor fidei, spem firmans, pacis amator.

The whole may be read in Pertz, 9.

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Temple, forbidding provisions to be brought us. He caused the Dominican and Franciscan friars to be dragged through the streets and flogged as if they had been thieves, because they preached on Palm Sunday. After a fruitless attempt at peace on his part, we laid Acre under an interdict. He sent off to his dear friend the Sultan the arms which had been stored up for the defence of the Holy Land; he burnt the galleys which he could not take with him; and he wrung much money from Cyprus. He set sail for that island on the first of May, without saluting any one, and leaving Jaffa unprotected; O that he may never return! '*

The Emperor went his way, leaving the Patriarch and his faction to sing hymns of joy at the departure of their Champion. They might rejoice in 1229, when no danger was near; but a few years later, when the Third Act of the Fifth Crusade had proved a failure, when no heaven-born General had come forward, and when the savage Kharizmians were knocking at the gates of Jerusalem, the Christians who remained behind would sigh in vain for that wise head and strong right-hand, which had for a moment revived their affairs and wrested a glorious peace from the Moslem, in spite of all that Pope and Patriarch, Templars and Hospitallers, could do to counteract it. Frederick left the ungrateful shores of Palestine, and touched at Limisso on his way

* Muratori's remarks on the Pope's conduct throughout the whole affair are worth quoting. 'Io per me chino qui il capo, nè oso chiamar ad esame la condotta della Corte di Roma in tal congiuntura, siccome superiore a i miei riflessi, bastandomi di dire che,' &c. Here he quotes the Abbot of Ursperg and Richard of San Germano, who are both indignant at the Pope.

home. He gave Alice, the daughter of the Marquis of Montferrat, in marriage to the boy-King Henry, and entrusted Cyprus to five noblemen, who were to act as Regents and pay ten thousand marks to the Emperor's Bailiff at Jerusalem. Frederick then steered westward for Apulia.*

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It is now time to relate the fate of that country during his absence. Pandulph of Aquino and Stephen of Anglone were left in office under Raynald, the Duke of Spoleto, at the Emperor's departure in 1228. Raynald took post at Antrodoco, and summoned the lieges of the Kingdom to his aid. Torre di Renaria and Capitiniano, two rebel towns, were taken; and the Lords of Polito were driven into banishment. Raynald had never forgotten the claims of his father Conrad to the Duchy of Spoleto; he could not withstand the temptation of invading the Pope's dominions. He entered the March of Ancona, over which he had been just appointed Vicar; his brother Berthold halted near Norcia, and destroyed the Castle of Prusa. The Arabs of Sicily, whom Frederick had transported into Apulia, now made their first appearance in Italian warfare; they tortured to death some of the luckless prisoners taken at Prusa, whom Berthold placed in their hands; some were blinded, others hanged, and priests were among the sufferers. The Pope in vain sent his chaplain Cencio to remonstrate with Raynald, and to threaten excommunication. The Southern assailants were soon at Montelmo and Macerata; Raynald, so far from quitting the March within the eight days allotted by Gregory, tried to bribe the men of Perugia to rise against

* Old French manuscript.

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their Papal guest. He had before constrained some, who owed allegiance to the Apostolic See, to swear fealty to himself. Conrad, another German, marched into Foligno, a city ever rebellious to Rome; but he was soon driven out again. Raynald, by virtue of his authority, bestowed great privileges on Osimo and Recanati. The German and Apulian leaders were all excommunicated, on their refusal to leave the States of the Church. A Council for that purpose was called at Perugia, and the Pope once more denounced Frederick's misdeeds, especially his attempt to oppress Benevento, the special dependency of Rome; the Emperor was reviled as worse than Pharaoh. Cardinal John Colonna, the richest and noblest of all the members of the Sacred College, and moreover a good soldier, was sent against the invaders.* Pandulph of Anagni, the Pope's chaplain, an able man, also led troops into Frederick's dominions; with him were the banished nobles, Thomas of Celano and Roger of Aquila. The Emperor long afterwards protested, that he had had no hand in the attack on the Roman States, and that he had made this manifest, by punishing the authors of the mischief.† The Bishops of Beauvais and Clermont arrived with troops, but were sent back by Gregory, who spent 120,000 gold coins on the war, a dead loss. He wrote to the Genoese late in November: 'The Emperor has sent the Archbishop of Bari and Henry Count of Malta to treat of peace. We heard them, but said that we could do nothing, while Raynald was vexing the Church.' The Pope sought help from Milan and Piacenza; he demanded money even

* Ric. San Germano.

† See his letters for 1239.

distant Sweden ; and summoned the Marquis into the March. The Archbishop of Ravenna rebuked for not having excommunicated Fre-

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k.

egory's soldiers, who advanced on the 18th of May, 1229, were beaten off from Fondi, the chief town of the Kingdom ; this place was held by Count of Poli, a Roman, but no friend to the Pope. He also held out for Frederick. Cicala, Morra, and Adenulf the son of the Count of Acerra, were loyal as ever. The strong position of Monte Cassino, and San Germano below it, were fortified. The Abbot seemed at present to be a staunch papalist. The Pope's army, bearing the ensign of the Keys, 'having no fear of God,' plundered the country, after failing in an attempt to storm Roccasecca. Then the tide of war turned. In March, when at Anglone the Justiciary lost a battle in the mountains and fled to San Germano. The Count was induced to yield up Monte Cassino, after a long treaty with the Legate, 'which I know not, but he knows,' says loyal Richard, who was doubtless following the progress of events with more than a personal interest. His native town was also given up, and the nobles of the Kingdom went off to their own lands. All seemed lost ; the Pope's army took the classical towns of Venafro, Isernia, Teano, and so on ; Cardinal Pelagius, who was now Legate, was luckier in his operations in Apulia than he had been in Egypt, went on from conquest to conquest. He mastered Sessa after a long siege, forcing it to yield up and cutting down the vineyards. The strong Castle Gaeta, one of Frederick's four great fortresses, which had cost a large sum of money, was taken

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and pulled down; the materials were thrown into the sea. Two of its citizens went to Gregory and procured several privileges; among others, the right of coining money stamped with the head of St. Peter; they were to contribute one galley to any fleet equipped by the Church. The Pope engaged to protect Sessa and Gaeta, as if they were towns in his own Campagna. Aquino surrendered, and the commander of Rocca Bantra was bribed to yield that place. William of Sora gave up Trajetto, which he held; and the men of Benevento, a town ever true to the Pope, made forays into Apulia, seizing the cattle in those rich plains. The Papal commanders asserted on oath, that Frederick was a prisoner in Palestine*; the lie was spread everywhere, probably by clerical agency, for we find Raynald the Viceroy driving all the Franciscans, and also the monks of Monte Cassino, out of the Kingdom. The Pope gave out that the Apulians were released from the oath of fealty they had taken to Frederick, since he was under the ban of the Church. Alife fell, but Capua was staunch in her loyalty; the Papal troops, unable to take this city, withdrew after three days to Benevento, burning the villages around. But the army could be kept together no longer, melting away with great speed upon certain evil tidings coming from the eastern coast of Apulia.† No reinforcements were at hand; the Lombards were slow in marching down, and those who served under Cardinal Colonna threatened to desert. The Pope in vain wrote to the chiefs of the League: 'Now is the time to strengthen the

* Letters of Frederick for 1239.

† Ric. San Germano.

y of the Church, since her enemy has returned
 onfusion from beyond the sea. You, Lombards,
 in as great jeopardy as ourselves. We command

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by your oath to keep your men in the field
 at least three months, and to send them pay.
 eave the message from us, which Guala will give
 ' This was written in July; later in the year
 gory thus upbraided his sluggish allies: 'Would
 we had never looked for help from Lombardy!
 e we placed our dependence on her, she has
 ranced herself for ever.' Still he would make no
 e without the advice of this province, declaring
 the Church, the mother of the Lombards, would
 or forsake them.*

regory wrote early in June to Pedro, the Infant
 Portugal, whose conduct seems to have given
 Holiness more satisfaction than that of most
 r European princes. Pedro is compared to De-
 ah in Israel, sitting under the palm tree, ready
 lo battle against the new Sisera, who does not
 the sharpness of the spiritual sword that is
 wn against him, but has hardened his heart.
 : Portuguese champion obtained remission of sins
 himself and for his comrades.† England sup-
 d nothing but money. One Master Stephen, the
 æ's Legate, called a council at Westminster, and
 lied the Prelates into granting one tenth of their
 omes and personal property, which was to go
 ards the expense of the Apulian war. Arch-
 op Langton was by this time in his grave at
 sterbury. The young King, Henry the Third,

Regesta of Gregory for 1229, XXXVI. LXXV. Middlehill
 3.

Raynaldus.

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made no resistance ; but the laity proved refractory. The clergy throughout England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland, furnished pay for the Pope's army, at that time harrying Frederick's dominions. Gregory, according to Master Stephen, was so overwhelmed with debts, that he knew not how he should finish the war he had begun.*

Cardinal Otho was sent into Germany, but found it impossible to stir up sedition there. Henry, the Emperor's son, had already crushed the Duke of Bavaria, the only Prince who seemed inclined to rebel. The King of England wished to raise the House of Guelf once more to the throne of Germany ; the family's sole surviving representative was Otho, the nephew of the late Emperor of the same name ; but Otho the younger was Lord of little besides Luneburg. The Pope was consulted as to the possibility of dislodging the House of Hohenstaufen in favour of this youth, who however had the wisdom to decline the glittering bait.† The Bishop of Verdun declared for the Church, but was almost ruined by a contest with his own flock.‡ In the end, Cardinal Otho was driven to take refuge in Huy, in order to save his life from the Imperialists ; he placed Liege and Aix-la-Chapelle under an interdict. He penetrated into Denmark, where he had no better success than in Germany. The constant opposition which he had to encounter must have convinced him that Frederick was firm in his seat. The Patriarch of Aquileia not only prevented any Northern army from embarking for Apulia from Pola, but

* De Wendover for 1229.

† Conr. de Fabaria. Godefr. Monachus.

‡ Regesta of Gregory for 1229, LXXVIII. Middlehill MSS.

to the King of Hungary and prevailed upon
to discountenance the measures of Rome.
e was almost as deaf as Germany to the calls
Church.

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an army led by Cardinal Pelagius was not
the dependence of Pope Gregory. An out-
took place at Lentini in Sicily, stirred up
the Vinito of Palagonia, who survived to take
in another rebellion ten years later.* More-
Cardinal John Colonna was commanding in
country of the Abruzzi, and was aided by John
tienne, the old King of Jerusalem. Though at
time he had seen more than seventy years,
redoubtable Champenois was as full of life and
ty, as when twenty years before the King of
he had singled him out as the man best suited
the war in Palestine. John had eagerly joined
enterprise directed against the Kingdom of his
son-in-law. Milan had with great willingness
a hundred knights, Piacenza thirty; † though
he have seen, the Lombard contingent did not
7 Gregory. These were the soldiers who, ac-
cording to the award of the late Pope Honorius,
d have followed the Emperor to the Holy
. Instead of this, they were now joining in
attack on his Apulian dominions, a perverse
of satisfaction, as he called it, for their former
act.‡ The army of the Church had driven
out of the March, and was now blockading
in Sulmona; but Cardinal Pelagius summoned
forces to his aid. After the whole of Marsia

* See the Regestum for 1240.

† Gal. Fiamma.

‡ See his letters for 1239.

Southern Italy has always been waged with a ferocity elsewhere unknown. The Count of Acerra had already sent a letter to his master, in which he complained of King John's cruelty; towns were set on fire, cattle seized, men tortured until they paid heavy ransoms, and no age or sex was spared. If the Emperor's name was invoked, King John would declare that there was no other Emperor besides himself. Even the clergy were amazed at these proceedings, which seemed to be authorized by the Vicar of Christ.*

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But deliverance was now at hand for the harassed South. To the astonishment of the Apulians, the Imperial eagles reappeared. Frederick, returning from Acre with only seven galleys, which the Count of Malta had brought him, landed at Ostuni, not far from Brindisi, on the 10th of June, 1229, escaping from the snares laid for him on the coast. He made Brindisi his head-quarters, whence he sent letters throughout the Kingdom to proclaim his arrival from the East. Raynald his Viceroy and the Justiciaries of the loyal towns were soon at the side of their master. Some brave Germans, on whom Frederick placed great reliance, arrived from Palestine. They had at first refused to aid their Kaiser in reconquering Apulia, but a strong wind had blown them out of their course and delayed their voyage to Venice.† Frederick's first act was to send some knights of the Teutonic Order to the Pope, asking for peace. But Gregory, who had just canonized St. Francis, made up his mind to try the chances of war; on the 19th of August he first excommunicated all heretics, by

* See Acerra's letter in 1229. † Breve Chron. Vaticanum.

without effecting anything. Cardinal Colonna, on the part of the Papal forces, had to apply to Gregory for more money. The wearers of the Cross, fresh from the East, were now opposed to those who bore the ensign of the Keys. The Castle of Caiazzo had undergone a long siege from King John and Cardinal Pelagius; these leaders, hearing of Frederick's sudden advance on the last day of August from the Eastern coast, burnt their engines, among which was a trebuchet made at great cost; they fled to Teano. That same day, Frederick pushed on to loyal Capua, and thence went to Naples, in search of men and money. He now retook Calvi, Alife, and Venafro, hanging some of the Campanian prisoners. Within four days he had recovered more than 200 castles.* But on the other side of his Kingdom, Paul of Logoteta, one of his Justiciaries, was torn in pieces by the enemy; a cruel deed, to which the Emperor refers many years later.† The King and the Cardinal fled to San Germano, whither Frederick followed them with the utmost speed; the men of the town removed their goods, expecting a battle; but Pelagius shut himself up in Monte Cassino, the treasures of which he had already seized. The rebellious Prelates and the Pope's soldiers from the Campagna fled to Rome; Frederick retook Piedemonte, and his Saracens plundered the Church of St. Matthew. Sessa was given up to him by Thaddeus, the Judge, a man of remarkable character. The Count of Acerra was in full employment; nearly every town in the Kingdom had been retaken, except Sora, Gaeta, and the strong position of Monte

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* Old French Chronicle.

† See his letters for 1239.

practical lesson as to the advantages of Frederick's rule, by which they ever afterwards profited ; though they showed no eagerness to welcome a remedy of deliverance. The nobles and clergy of the kingdom might conspire, but the Commons, with few exceptions, were ever true to him who had delivered them from the tender mercies of King John and Cardinal Pelagius.

Frederick sent an ambassador to Gaeta, one of the disloyal towns : the envoy was put to death by the burghers, and the Emperor treasured up the insult.

Two hundred knights recovered Marsia for Frederick ; either Berthold, the brother of Raynald, was killed, or he got back. Frederick at this time thought it right to write letters to all the kings of the world, explaining his conduct in Palestine, and refuting the false charges of the Patriarch, who had accused him of heresy and brought shame on Christendom. Frederick wrote also in support of his own assertions to the Pope, to the King of Winchester and Exeter, and to the Heads of the Religious Orders, who had been present at the signing of the Truce. His cause still continued unpopular ; the Roman Senate and people sent an embassy to him, when at Aquino. On the 28th of July he took Sora, which was burnt ; and some of the citizens perished by fire and sword. The soldiers, men of the Roman Campagna, fled into their homes ; William of Sora was handed over to Frederick and hanged as a rebel. The Abbey of Cava, which had preserved its loyalty, was taken under the Emperor's special protection.

At this time, Hermann von Salza returned with the welcome news that Gregory was ready to make peace. The Pope very honourably consulted

ation of the German nobles is dated on the 23rd July. The Princes and Prelates of the Empire are assembled make it known to all that they set their seals to the agreement. Three of them, big Churchmen, declare the cause of Frederick's communication, and order him to restore all, specially what has been taken from the Monastery of Androcco. The Archbishop of Taranto and other exiled Prelates are to return to their sees. Gaeta and St. Agata are to be given back to Frederick, and a year's time is allotted for the fulfilment of the treaty; if the business cannot then be arranged, umpires are to be chosen, two by each side; if need be, a fifth is to be added. Germans, Italians, and French, are alike pardoned. Frederick engages not to invade either the Duchy of Spoleto or the March of Ancona. The Princes at length declare, 'We have sworn on the Gospels to enforce the keeping of this treaty; if it be not kept, we will aid the Church against the Emperor within a certain time; but if the Church does not name umpires, as agreed, we are not to be bound by our oath.' The goods of the Hospitallers and Templars within the Kingdom are to be restored; the exiled Prelates are to be allowed to return; the clergy are not to be taxed; and the confiscations of churches and monasteries are to be free. The only parties shut out of the Treaty were Raymond's soldiers, who had ravaged the March. The County of Fondi was at length restored to Roger of Aquila; John of Poli, on whom it had been bestowed, becoming Count of Alba. Monte Cassino was given up to its Abbot, and the exiled Bishops returned to their dioceses.

The only circumstance which occurred to damp

Tobias. Great is the joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth ! Give up to us, we beseech you, the sons of Count Thomas and Rinaldo of Aversa, as this day is the Feast of Angels, in order not to grieve your guardian Angel.'

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Everything was done to please the Pope. Frederick on the 24th of August sent letters to his officials on behalf of the clergy throughout the Kingdom, and ordered all the Castles in the March to be given up. At length, on Sunday, the 1st of September, the formal reconciliation took place. A Papal invitation arrived, and the Emperor entered Anagni, the Pope's beloved abode, in great pomp, attended by the Cardinals and the leading men of the town. Gregory received him in person ; it was the meeting of Priam and Achilles, although on this occasion it was not the aged man who bowed himself at the feet of the warrior. Frederick knelt before Gregory, arrayed in a cloak, and gave him the kiss of peace ; he afterwards sat at the Papal table, and then held a long conference with his old friend in the Pope's own chamber. The Cardinals were not admitted ; no one was present, except Hermann von Salza, the truest friend either of the reconciled pair possessed. The Emperor spent the night at the Palace, and on the morning again sat at the same table with Gregory, many faces being in attendance.* Frederick's own account of the interview is this ; ' We went to the Pope, who receiving us with fatherly love and with the kiss of peace, talked with the judgment of clear reason, subdued our passion and removed our rancour, so that we were unwilling to speak of the past. We

* Vita Gregorii.

See. Among the witnesses to these Charters were Conrad the Burgrave of Nuremberg and the Count of Habsburg, the ancestors of the Royal Houses of Prussia and Austria.

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The Emperor rode down the steep hill, upon which is built the city of the Conti, followed by the good wishes of his Holiness and of the Cardinals. He had exerted himself in behalf of the Abbots and Bishops who had remained loyal to him, when the Kingdom was invaded; and he had obtained their absolution from Gregory. He took breakfast at San Germano, and thence hastened to Capua; after visiting Melfi, where his friend the King of Thessalonica died, he kept Christmas at Precina.* The high dignitaries who had met at Anagni were soon scattered; the German nobles went home, the Bishop of Beauvais was made Duke of Spoleto, though he was unable to reduce that city; Gregory himself returned to Rome, where he added greatly to the Lateran Palace and built hospitals for the poor. He took Monteforte, kept it for the Church, and fortified it with a high wall, towers, and trenches. The work was pressed on in spite of the winter frosts; 900 pounds were paid for the stronghold, which was then entrusted as a fief to some of the nobles.† Gregory however had leisure to write to Frederick in October; the Emperor had been laying hands on some of his officials. 'We doubt not but that some evil man is advising you to harass the men of Foggia, Casale Nuovo, and San Severino; a deed which does you no credit. Do not exasperate your Redeemer. Let not the feast be turned into mourning; let it not be said, that those great Lights, the

* Ric. San Germano.

† Vita Gregorii.

in order that he may not go beyond the prescribed form of the surety.' The aged Pope was fully alive to any attempt on the part of his young friend to overreach him.

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In the same month of December, the Archbishop of Capua was sent as ambassador to Rome upon a matter connected with the rights of the Empire on the Rhone. Gregory, after having consulted his brethren, returned this answer to Frederick; 'The Roman Church, after much outpouring of Christian blood, has triumphed over heresy in Provence. Yet the land may easily relapse into errors worse than the first; we therefore think it best not to grant your request at present, though we do not intend to wrong you. Moreover, you say that you have been robbed of Citta di Castello; but you forget that this place belongs to the Apostolic See; we ask you to listen to what the Archbishop of Capua will tell you as to that matter.' This letter closed the correspondence between the two parties for the year, making it plain that there was more than one subject of dispute still unsettled. The year 1230 ended, to all appearance, with the reconciliation of Church and Empire. What astonishes us most in the Treaty of San Germano is, that the Pope, the weaker party, gains almost everything; the Emperor, fresh from his conquests, at the head of a great army, can compass little more than his absolution from the sentence of 1227. Even the restoration of his faithful partizans to their old position seems to have been an afterthought, a concession not made by Gregory before the interview at Anagni. Peace is made, but it is only a hollow truce; the great battle between Rome and the House of Hohenstaufen has yet to be

CHAP. fought out. Meanwhile each party makes the most
VIII. of the breathing-time allowed. Frederick spends
1227-1230. the next five years, perhaps the happiest of his life,
in his beloved Kingdom, to which he gives new
laws ; Gregory also, with the help of the great
Spanish Dominican, Ramon de Pennaforte, compiles
a code, not for one realm alone, but for the whole
of the civilized world ; a code long the bulwark of
priestly government, which has influenced even coun-
tries unshackled by the yoke of Rome. To this day,
the Decretals of Gregory the Ninth are quoted under
the roof of Westminster Hall.

CHAPTER IX.

'Sub rege Medo Marsus et Appulus.' — HORACE.

was not only in their public acts that the greatest contrast possible was to be seen between the e and the Emperor; their private lives were ely different. Gregory, who had now filled the nest offices in the Church for two and thirty s, was its living embodiment. The Saints, the ervers of its tottering fabric, had been his bosom ds when alive, and after their death received at hands the honours of Canonization. He and his dinals composed the earliest hymns in praise of Francis. He delighted to throw off his costly pings, and to share the devotions of the Minorites i his feet unshod.* He would assume their garb i disguise, if he wished to visit the holy places nd Rome. When these brethren were engaged vashing the feet of the poor, one in the dress of Francis went through the duty so clumsily, that was bluntly told to make room for others who lerstand their work better than he did. Little the thankless complainants know that they were ecting the services of Pope Gregory the Ninth.† t his character has a darker side. He was an

CHAP.
IX.

* Thomas de Celano.

† Letter of Philip of Perugia, who could just remember Gregory. It is in Wadding, Vol. I.

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earnest patron of the Inquisition, which he strove to transplant from France into Germany. On hearing that its rigours had been pushed to excess, 'The Germans,' he coldly remarked, 'were always madmen, and therefore they have had madmen for their judges.' One of the speeches of these spiritual judges was this; 'We should like to burn a hundred innocent men, if one guilty man were among them.' Happily for Germany, this outrageous violence defeated its object.

A man like Gregory, as stern to himself as he was to others, was the very last person to feel any sympathy with Frederick's pursuits. The Pope was shocked at the life led by the Sicilian Monarch, the harem stocked with handsome girls and watched by black eunuchs, the intercourse maintained with Arab and Jewish sages, the laws enacted to keep the Church in due subjection to the State, the profane lays of the Italian Troubadours which were so much prized, the jests upon sacred things which Rumour put into Frederick's mouth. A brilliant Court, which even outshone the former glories of Toulouse, was close at hand to invite the attention of Rome. Palermo was forsaken, except on grand occasions of state; Naples did not become the capital until much later in the century; the chosen abode of the Suabian Monarchs of the Kingdom was the Eastern coast of Apulia, where the broad plains were the delight of the hunter, and where it was easy to watch the affairs of Northern Italy.†

* Ann. Wormat.

† Frederick says of the Capitanata in 1240; '*Magis quam in aliis provinciis regni nostri moram sæpius trahimus ibidem.*'

Frederick was the most powerful Sovereign of his age. He had already fulfilled the three conditions of greatness ; he was born great, being the son of a great king ; he achieved greatness, when he conquered Germany ; he had greatness thrust upon him when he was forced by the Church against his will to undertake the conquest of Jerusalem. A large tract of country owned his sway ; but we are at this time more immediately concerned with that part of his dominions which he loved the best, and in which he was now spending the five happiest years of his life. We gladly turn aside from his other affairs for a short time, to gaze at the triumphs of his arms. The interval of rest which was granted him after an interval unhappily short, was employed by him in drawing up a code of laws for the Kingdom of Sicily, a heritage, as he says, more noble than any of his possessions. Many masters had left their marks on themselves in that realm. There were Norman customs, Lombard feudal laws, Greek regulations, and Arab innovations. But all former institutions had been forced to bow before the swords of Norman conquerors, the Mowbrays and Greentons. Feudalism had been firmly established in Southern Italy, just at the time when it was loosening its hold upon Northern Italy. The nobles, ever rebellious unless when held down by some strong ruler, had enjoyed a long period of misrule. This was now brought to an end in 1220 ; Frederick, no longer distracted by preparations for the Crusade, was determined to make Italians, Greeks, Arabs,

authorities for this Chapter are the Imperial Constitutions and the Imperial Registers of 1239 and 1240.

he traced the progress of law from the rebellious man ; Necessity and Providence pointed out Kings as the correctors of vice, of life and death, the vicegerents of God.

His duty was to protect His Church, and to those two sisters, Justice and Peace. Frederick had been raised above all other Kings ; he was on the account of double talents ; he desired under God the calves of his lips. He could do no better than by providing the Kingdom of France with the code of laws it so sadly wanted ; all old customs adverse to his new Constitutions were quashed. Cæsar, by the decision of the Emperor, was as the origin and the guardian of law ; he was to be himself both the father of justice by his law, and the son of justice by veneration.

She should now be tendered to each and every one of his loyal subjects of the Kingdom without exception, the civil and criminal codes being separated by distinct officials. Frederick gave his laws as his Oracles, as he styled his laws, not in the glory of being admired by future ages, but to repair the injuries caused in time past by the old Law. He inserted in his own Constitutions some of his Norman kinsmen, but prided himself on having softened the old laws in several

where the changes now introduced into the law, but the most important change of all was the separation of the Prelates and nobles of their jurisdiction in criminal causes. This was an amazing stride in that direction, but a step quite unprecedented in the history of feudal Kingdoms. The very first thing he did, on returning home from Germany in

the friends of Rome branded him as a
 Achitophel. We find the learned Capuan CHAP.
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 on the Judicial bench so early as 1225.*
 And honours were heaped upon him, and he
 was employed by his master to compile the state
 annals which throw so much light upon the history
 of the age. Although somewhat turgid, they were
 among the finest models of epistolary composi-
 tion, a fact which explains the number of letters,
 addressed to Peter, preserved in the Mediæval con-
 ceptions. He was at the same time a poet, an orator,
 and a diplomatist. His mournful fate, far
 more than that of Wolsey, and the romantic interest
 of his story, have left their traces in Italian
 literature. Thus, according to one tale, the Emperor
 visited the chamber where Peter's beautiful wife
 slept. The intruder covered her arms which
 were to be exposed, and withdrew after dropping
 a line. On finding it, Peter, whose suspicions
 were naturally excited, refused to speak to his wife;
 she in her trouble sent for the Emperor, and the
 two sat together in silence for some time, until the
 story broke out into verse:

'A Vineyard another plant trespassing came,
 And ruined the Vineyard, O villainous shame!'

He promptly made her protest:

'Vineyard I am, Vineyard I'll be;
 Vineyard never was false to thee.'

He at last dismissed his suspicions and went on:

'Thus be so, as she says; then I vow,
 That the Vineyard I love more than ever now.'

* See the Charters for that year.

he took charge of the palace, and acted as keeper of the woods and forests. Richard, who held this post, was replaced after his death by a gro, called John the Moor, raised by Frederick to the lowest grade.* The Seneschal and the chamberlain were about the Sovereign's person. The Chamberlain of the Kingdom was Richard Filangieri of Principato, famous alike in Italy and in Palestine; other warriors bore the same title during Richard's life. As to the high and permanent post of Chancellor, it was never filled up by Frederick except the disgrace of Walter of Palear in 1221, when Peter de Vinea might well plead his claim to honour. The lofty titles connected with the Empire, Arles, and Jerusalem were respected; but the great offices belonging to the Sicilian realm were looked upon with a jealous eye, and were kept in abeyance, if there seemed any danger of creating too powerful a subject.†

The highest in authority among all these Officials, tracing their origin to King Roger, stood the Grand Justiciary of Sicily, whose power reached to every corner of the Realm. Henry of Morra held this post for all but twenty years, replaced at his death by the unpopular Richard of Montenero, who enjoyed Frederick's favour to the last, but proved false to Frederick's son. The Grand Justiciary corrected errors committed by the inferior Courts, commanded them to do justice without delay, restored property and liberty to all wrongfully injured or oppressed, and in many cases acted without consulting the Crown. He was called the Mirror of Justice,

* Jamsilla.

† See Bréholles' Preface.

him three months in a common cause, and avoided dragging suitors up and down the province, or tresssing on the time of the local Bailiff. In the inquisitions made, all depositions were given in without any needless delay. These inquisitions were never vexatious. If ten witnesses of good reputation convicted a man of quarrelling, gambling, frequenting taverns, or living beyond his means, the Justiciary made the culprit to labour for a time on the public works. The accused was given a copy of the names of the witnesses, but no copy of what they meant to prove. An absurd old law was abolished, by which the evidence of ten men was deemed irrefragable. Those who were informed against their neighbours were protected. The Justiciary was allowed to receive nothing from defendants, except the cost of his eating and drinking for two days; if he took horses, jewels, or other things, he was stripped of his belt of honour as a manifest thief. There was no need for him to resort to bribes, since he had a yearly allowance from the treasury. The Justiciary was answerable for the good order of his province; if any charge against him was brought to Frederick, down would come a messenger with round abuse of the careless Epicurean, as the official was styled.

The Emperor appointed five Judges and eight Notaries in each of the cities, Naples, Salerno, Mes-
sina, and Capua. In every other large town of his empire he established three Judges and six Notaries; he had to bring testimonials from their townsmen before taking office, and were necessarily men who owned their lands of the Crown alone. They were paid by receiving a certain proportion of the value of every thing brought under their judicial notice.

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They held office only for one year, and on retiring they underwent a strict examination as to their past conduct. They were doomed to death if they attempted to falsify a public instrument. They were not allowed to have any money dealings, or to contract matrimony, in their districts, while in office. They, in common with the rest of Frederick's agents and courtiers, were protected against violence by a double penalty inflicted on the aggressor.

Several statutes of King Roger had defined the power of the Bailiffs. His Imperial grandson excluded the clergy from this post, and forbade more than three officials to hold office in the same town. They were paid by receiving the thirtieth part of the value of the thing upon which they decided. Every month they inquired into the justice of the weights and measures in common use. They were forbidden to harass the lieges by forcing them to undertake journeys, or to give up their animals for the Imperial service; a fair price was ordered to be paid for hired horses, and any harm suffered by the beasts was compensated. The Bailiffs redressed the damage done to private persons by the rapacious exactions of the Imperial foresters and harbour-masters. Severe fines and perpetual infamy awaited any official, who abused his authority in avenging private grudges; peculators had their heads cut off. The Secretary of Messina, as we learn from Frederick's registers, was charged to imprison certain Bailiffs accused of having wrongfully extorted money. On the other hand, some other Bailiffs in Calabria were delivered from the oppression of one Basil, who had terrified them into bestowing money upon him, by maliciously citing them before the Emperor. The goods of a

defaulting official went to the Treasury, but we find Frederick making provision for the widows of such culprits; if the marriage had taken place before the commission of the crime, the wife, as he said, had a claim prior to his own, and so might take her dowry. Duplicates of all accounts had to be kept, one copy being lodged in the Treasury.

Bailiffs, Judges, and Notaries were bound to labour from morning to evening, with intervals allowed for their meals and siesta; though Christmas, Easter, Sunday, and the festivals of the Virgin and the Apostles, were always kept as holidays. If an instrument was to be drawn up at the request of private persons, the official was bound to do it within a week, on pain of a fine; in the contingency of his death, other strict rules were observed. A curious cypher in use in three cities was abolished. The only material to be employed for the future was parchment; cotton paper was forbidden, as not likely to last long. But a few sheets of the Emperor's own Registers, written on the objectionable substance, are still to be seen at Naples, and are the most precious relic of his age.

These Bailiffs, and all other civil officials, were under the direction of Master Chamberlains, just as all criminal business was placed in the hands of Justiciaries. The Chamberlains, before entering office, took an oath on the Gospels to do justice according to the Imperial Constitutions; failing these, according to the local Roman or Lombard common law. They were in a post of great trust, since the superintendence of the Emperor's estates, the exaction of fines, the collection of taxes and customs, formed a part of their duty. The Kingdom was divided for

ity. Justice is the foundation of faith, without which nothing can be built up. By this law, which, we God, shall last for ever, we condemn to death the judges who have given unjust sentences from a bad motive. Their goods, especially if they have been used in capital causes, are confiscated. If any have erred through ignorance, they may thank their own error in assuming the office of Judge, and they must receive a minor penalty.' We find Frederick rebuking the Justiciary of the Principato for having promoted an unlearned merchant named Matthew to be chosen Judge in Salerno. The removal of this official was ordered, because merchants usually had hands swift to lucre, and there ought to be an abundance of learned men in such a city as Salerno.

Any litigant attempting to bribe a Judge lost his cause, even if he were in the right; his name and the sum he offered were sent to the Emperor. The bestower of the bribe was allowed to denounce the Judge who took it, but had to give in his charge within three days of the alleged commission of the offence. The corruption of public officers in the Kingdom, if we may judge by detached notices, seems to have been on a truly Russian scale. A prior Court, however, called the School of Accusers, travelled from place to place, and revised all sentence sheets; this put some slight check on official dilation.

From the Judicial authorities we proceed to the executive. The Kingdom under Frederick the Second was divided into two parts; Sicily and Calabria forming one, while the other comprised the rest of the mainland. This division answered to the old Roman partition of the provinces between Robert

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Guiscard and his brother Roger. Each of the two parts had its own governor, who was styled Captain or Master Justiciary. This office was held by the most distinguished warriors and statesmen of Frederick's age, such as Walter de Brienne, Peter of Celano, the Counts of Andria and Acerra, Henry of Morra, Andrew of Cicala, and Richard of Montenero. The Captain was bound to hold Courts twice at least in the year, where grievances might be redressed; he took cognizance of great crimes, such as those committed by nobles or corporations; he heard appeals from the sentences of the local Justiciaries; he represented the Emperor, except in cases of treason or infamous crimes. He punished the faults of the local officers, especially of the Secretaries, Castellans, and Proctors of the Royal domains; he kept an eye upon all negligence or bribe-taking. If charges were brought against the Court, the Captain heard them, having first appointed a clever Proctor to act for the Imperial interest; the decision was then sent under seal for Frederick's confirmation. The Emperor often lost a suit in his own Courts. Thus in 1224, the Provost of a Monastery complained that the Treasury was exercising feudal oppression over the men of a hamlet, which of right belonged to his Church. Witnesses were produced, one of whom spoke to the state of things in the days of King William. The High Court of the Realm inspected the depositions, while the famous Roffrid of Benevento appeared for the Emperor. In the end, sentence was given against his Highness. Frederick so loved justice, as his subjects boasted, that he placed himself on a level with the meanest in the land; he preferred to lose his cause rather than win it, if he was in the

wrong.* He strove hard to make his officials as righteous in their dealings as he himself was. With this intent he established a new institution in 1234, which was to be held at Piazza, Cosenza, Gravina, Salerno, and Sulmona, in May and November every year. To this each great city was to furnish four impartial deputies, each town and each castle was to send two representatives; the Counts and Barons of the neighbourhood met them. All the Prelates, who could, were to be present in order to denounce the Paterines. The main object of the institution was to insure to all men their rights. A special Imperial messenger was sent down, who placed on record the complaints of the lieges against the Officials, and brought them to his master's notice. The Justiciaries decided causes in the usual way, and the Court lasted a week or a fortnight.† It is clear that there was no attempt at legislation on the part of these five Provincial assemblies.

Justice was administered between man and man with all due solemnity. No recourse to any other tribunals than those of the Crown, except in cases authorized by law, was allowed. No advocates might practise without undergoing an examination by the Judicial Bench; they then took an oath that they would allege nothing against their conscience, that they would throw up their case, should it appear contrary to fact or to law, and that they would demand no increased fees during the process; any breach of this oath was punished by perpetual infamy, loss of office, and a fine.‡ The clergy might not plead in secular

* Jamsilla.

† Ric. San Germano.

‡ In modern times, the Neapolitan bar has been the sole profession entitled to national respect; army, navy, clergy, nobility, peasantry, magistracy, have been alike worthless.

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causes, except on behalf of themselves, their own kin, or the poor; but in no case did they receive a fee. The first step in an action at law was to obtain a writ of summons directed to the Defendant; a certain delay was granted by the Court, according to the distance of his abode. A trusty messenger, not the Plaintiff, bore the citation; which specified the Court, the complaint, and the time granted for appearance; if the Defendant dwelt beyond the Kingdom, he was entitled to a delay of sixty days. If he would not open his door to receive the citation, it was laid on the threshold in the presence of two or three witnesses or a public Official. The fine imposed for contumacy was a third of the personal property of the culprit; by this innovation on the old law, Frederick spared the purses of the poor and made the rich smart, who had formerly paid with ease a small fine. If the Defendant kept out of the way, his hereditary goods were sold by the Judge after a year's delay; the sale of feudal property was always referred to the Crown. The person of the fugitive might be seized and imprisoned, until judgment was given. A Count might swear to a debt being due to himself up to the value of a hundred ounces of gold; a Baron up to half, a Knight up to a quarter of that sum; a rich Burgher up to a pound of gold; while the oaths of men of lower rank were only good as regarded a debt of three ounces. To recover any debts beyond the above quantities, written instruments or good witnesses had to be brought forward. Sales of disputed property were not allowed, since Justice might thus be defeated. Any contempt of Court, caused by the parties not being ready for trial, was punished by a

tenth of the property at stake, which was equal portions upon Plaintiff and Defendant; compounding of suits after trial had begun, intent of defrauding the Treasury, was

Should any corporate body prove conscious, without possessing any tangible property, was levied upon the citizens at the rate of half a penny for each hearth ; they assessed it according to their wealth and paid it to the Crown.

In criminal cases, those who neglected to appear at trial were despoiled of their goods and outlawed by the local Justiciary. In these cases Frederick conferred a great boon on his subjects by allowing corporate bodies and married women to be represented by Proctors. After the year from the proclamation of the Banishment of a contumacious culprit, outlawry ensued ; he was hunted a public enemy, whose life might be in question ; a price was set on his head ; twelve Augustals, if he was a Count ; six, if he was a knight ; those who sheltered him were liable to the same sentence of outlawry. A man under the Ban must give himself up within two months from the date of proclamation, but was obliged to make good all damages sustained in consequence of his contumacy by his friends. The names of outlaws were sent up to the King and entered on the rolls, but the rights of their property were respected, so long as no aid in money was demanded to the culprits. The son of such an outlaw became the ward of the Treasury. Defendants in criminal causes were allowed to give bail for appearance ; unless their guilt was notorious or they were one of high treason. It had often been the practice that a man was accused by his

was always to be proceeded with first ; except in case of high treason, when the Crown had a right to the goods of the culprit. As soon as the cause came on for trial, each party took an oath to abstain from calumny ; the Plaintiff then began, and was restricted to two days at the furthest. The Defendant followed ; peremptory exceptions, replications, and triplications were discountenanced ; all costs usually incurred were taxed by the Judge. He might ask questions and administer oaths to the parties at discretion. He kept the advocates in proper order, for by the Constitutions silence was termed homage paid to justice. No one might speak in court, without leave from the Judge ; a whisper from client to his advocate was the utmost allowed, and as a clamorous interruption was justified by immediate necessity. Three warnings were vouchsafed to a noisy or tedious litigant ; after these, he atoned for his folly by fines ranging from one to sixteen guldens, according to his degree. Those advocates, who made broad their phylacteries in their perorations, were not spared ; they might have two days, no more, for their legal arguments, after the witnesses had been examined. The fees to be received by the Counsel were fixed by the Judge, and as the cause was one of property ; in that case the sixtieth part of the value of the matter in litigation was always the advocate's due. The Plaintiff was also bound to reimburse the messengers of the court who had carried the citation ; the fee varied according to the distance. The Judge had to give his decision within three days ; it was not valid, unless in writing ; the defeated suitor was always condemned in costs, though he was allowed fifty days,

to swear that they had seen the Charter in
ion. The Proctor for the Treasury challenged
Barons either to produce the Charter, or to
e that it had been destroyed; and the Court
sentence in his favour. No documents were
good, which contained the names of traitors or
lers of the Kingdom, like the Emperor Otho;
charters were brought to Frederick's officials,
erased the objectionable name and date, and
ted the name of the rightful Sovereign. An
erial confirmation of old Charters of the Crown
absolutely necessary to their validity, and this
rmation must have been granted since the year
). Commissions were issued for the examination
ick or aged persons, who could not appear in
rt; and all fraudulent dealing on the part of the
gates was punished by heavy fines.

rederick was shrewd enough to see the folly of
trial by ordeal, against which the Church had
ady set her face, on the strength of the text;
ou shall not tempt the Lord thy God.' A missal,
piled at Palermo during the earlier years of the
peror's life, instructs us as to the fourfold usage
Sicily in these matters. The accused received the
st after a solemn warning from the priest, who
n blessed the water, sang the seven special psalms
l the Litany, and offered a prayer to Christ that
truth might be made manifest. If the appeal
made to cold water, the accused, after kissing
Gospel and the Cross, was sprinkled with holy
er and plunged into the probative element; if it
sed to receive him, his guilt was clear; if he sank,
was pronounced innocent. Sceptics were found,
t in that age, who attributed these effects to

ained to allow the wager of battle in certain cases; in instance, on the trial of a poisoner or a traitor, if the presiding Judge had exhausted all other modes of proof. Such criminals, Frederick declared, were beyond the pale of moderation, and were liable to an awful kind of trial. He did his best, however, to secure a fair fight. Thus the man challenged was always henceforth to be allowed the choice of weapons, and might fight on foot or on horseback according as he might wish; in old times, it had been the challenger who had enjoyed and abused this privilege of selection. The combatants were put on an equal footing, as far as might be; thus, if the man challenged was blind of an eye, the other party was not to deprive himself for the time of the use of one of his own eyes. A man above sixty, or below twenty-five, might employ a substitute against a challenger. This champion, before entering the ring, swore an oath that he believed his principals to be in the right, and that he would stand up for them with his whole might. No covenant was allowed between combatants, that they would abstain from using hands or teeth; each must put forth all his means of defence, though King William had forbidden the use of clubs bristling with sharp spikes. If the presiding Judge should think, with the concurrence of the bystanders, that the champion had played into the enemy's hands or had raised the craven cry too soon, then both the principal and the faithless champion were doomed to death. This took place, if the wronged principal was the defendant; but the champion only lost a hand, if his principal was the accuser, perhaps a father eager to avenge the death of a son.

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In cases of high treason, the accuser lost his life if he did not prove the conqueror in the combat.

The criminal law, as moulded by the Suabian Emperor, was very severe. But the unruly spirit of the age demanded strong measures. No weakness could now be laid to the charge of the government. There was no need to have recourse to the Truce of God, sworn in solemn assemblies, the only remedy for evils known to the old Norman conquerors.* Hence throughout the land was henceforth to be lawfully maintained: no reprisals were allowed, unless to repel an attack upon life or property; even then the retaliator was not to employ arms superior to those used by the aggressor, and was bound to defend himself on the instant, or not at all. Notorious murders, however, might be put to death on the spot if they would not surrender. Any Count or Baron carrying on war on his own account lost his land and all his goods. Instances are recorded of punishment following such lawlessness eleven years after the offence. No weapons were allowed to the home: even knives and iron-tipped staves were forbidden: though Courtiers were allowed an exception, while knights and burghers might wear swords on a journey. Foreigners had to lay aside their arms on entering the Kingdom. Any one inflicting a wound with forbidden weapons lost the offender's life. Frederick took credit to himself for enforcing the old laws, which in such cases invariably presumed a murderous intention. Not even the royal ministers might go armed outside their offices, unless they were employed on their Lord's

* Gergel.

ness. Murderers were beheaded or hung, according to their rank; children and madmen being excluded. If the murderer could not be discovered, a fixed Augustal was exacted from the district; a civil rising was now and then the result of this

an inferior unjustly attacked by a superior was allowed to invoke the Sovereign's name, and this was called a *Defensa*. If a Lord robbed his vassal of this outcry, he was debtor to the Treasury, as well as to the wronged sufferer, after a civil process; this did not apply to offences against the person. Frederick's officials imposed the *Defensa* in cases of civil factions or fights were apprehended. Three witnesses of unblemished character were required to convict the scorner of the Royal name, who lost a third of his property if he had employed arms in his defence. Jews and Saracens were admitted to a share of the benefits of this privilege; any abuse of it by tyrants or others was carefully guarded against. The persons of women had been already protected by King Roger and King William, who had punished rapists with death, whether a nun or a harlot were the sufferers. Frederick's laws were still more severe; they were aimed against a custom prevalent in some of the Sicilian provinces, according to which, a subsequent marriage was supposed to atone for the offence. He was aware of the difficulties that perplex the trial of such cases, and reserved them specially for his own decision, now that the ordeal of battle had been almost entirely forbidden. Any person under the same roof, who did not fly to the rescue of the victim, if she screamed, was fined four Augustals. But a woman, bringing a false charge of rape

district had to make good the damage even to a
or a Saracen, since it was often found to be the
that the culprits were screened by their neigh-
3. Frederick granted a special letter of redress
widow who had found her vineyard cut down,
er return from Court; he strove also to detect
nen guilty of laying waste the crops belonging
e Archdeacon of Monreale.

is the glory of England, her special glory,
our common law has never recognized the
re as a means of wringing confession of crimes.
ne time of the ruin of the Templars, we find it
ioned whether a tormentor by trade could be
l in our land. Frederick, enlightened in so
r respects, was no wiser than the rest of the
nent as regards the torture; he enjoined it in
cted cases of murder, after inquisition had been
:. He himself however confessed that this
od had often been known to fail. Whenever it
fail, the district forfeited a hundred Augustals
murdered Christian, and half that sum for a
lered Jew or Saracen; these unbelievers were
the victims of Christian bigotry. In Sicily, as
eland now, it would seem that the neighbour-
was sometimes in tacit league with the mur-
s. Death was the punishment for many a
e in the Sicilian code; it was inflicted on those
helped themselves to their neighbour's goods
ing a shipwreck, a fire, or the fall of a house;
man who neglected to give all due aid in such
was fined an Augustal. The lieges were for-
en to appropriate stray animals; these must be
ed over to the local Justiciary, on pain of a
ge of robbery. It is plain, the lawgiver remarks,

llan varied in numbers ; that of Bari commanded hundred sergeants, that of Naples ten sixty crossbowmen, and a hundred and forty and sentinels. The latter Castle was provided with an oven, a blacksmith's shop, and stores of salt, and coals ; it was thoroughly repaired

Frederick's fortresses were kept in good repair, the men of the district, this being one of the chief burdens ; if any persons claimed exemption, they had to prove their case by the oaths of witnesses. No houses were allowed to abut upon the Imperial Castle ; if built, they were liable to be pulled down at any moment. The Saracens and Saracens who garrisoned Frederick's numerous castles in Sicily were provided by his orders with bread, wine, cheese, and shoes ; to see to this was part of the duty of the Messinese Secretary. The castle of Catania was begun in 1239, great quantities of stone and mortar were laid in, and the district furnished the money, for which he received an Imperial letter of thanks. Besides the castle of Matagriffone, a new Castle was built at Taormina in 1240, upon which a hundred beasts of burden and twenty yoke of oxen were employed, and stones from the quarries. The Castles of Trapani and Trani were repaired in the same year ; the latter was in a state threatening great damage, unless the halls and towers were roofed in. The Castellans were sometimes charged with the duty of attending to the growth of the vines which surrounded their walls. Frederick decreed that he would tolerate no Castles but his own in the towns of Sicily. No towers belonging to private persons, those which frowned over the riotous streets of Palermo and Bologna, were allowed to encumber

to seamen, just as the Marshal was supreme in
y. He might depose any navy official, except
whose office was hereditary. The leader of
emy's fleet, if taken, was Spinola's acknow-
prize, besides all arms and a fixed proportion
corn and wine that might be captured. The
ral enjoyed certain privileges in the event of
ss against the Saracens, and he was stimulated
a Imperial letter to demand new tributes from
l. He might have all foreign vessels wrecked
he coasts of the Kingdom, and his property paid
duty to the Crown on entering or leaving the
lian harbours. Spinola took his measures against
Slavonian pirates, who issued forth under the
se of merchants from Zara, Ragusa, and Spalatro ;
e of these robbers might be released, even should
y offer money for their pardon. The Genoese
d Venetian Caravans used to arrive from the East
out the month of May ; in time of war they were
counted fair game ; four ships and four galleys of
e Imperial fleet were thought strong enough to
al with them ; Frederick would not commit to
riting the instructions with which he charged Spi-
ola in these matters. Due precautions were taken
gainst the enemies of the Kingdom ; a trusty man
as appointed in each harbour who boarded every
range vessel before it was allowed to unload its
argo, making strict search for rebels or their letters.
The Admiral found that his duties often clashed with
those of the local magistrates ; he sometimes com-
plained of their delays in furnishing him with money.
He was provided with armour for his seamen, with
pitch, wine, biscuit, and salt pork. Fortified docks,
to hold twenty galleys, were built at Brindisi, the

Or in Africa. His agents, it is said, pushed their way as far as Hindostan; he had dealings with all the Eastern Sultans, from whom he received costly gifts; at one time a dozen camels arrived, laden with gold and silver.* The Paynim stood upon their dignity when treating with their Italian brother. Thus Conrad of Amici, Frederick's Ambassador at Cairo, sturdily refused to kiss the Sultan's hand, though bribes were offered. The Mohammedan, determined to triumph over the Christian, gave him audience in a room so small that no one could enter without bending the knee; besides this, carpets embroidered with crosses were laid upon the floor. But Conrad, aware of the intended trick, came into the room with his back to the Sultan. A Turcoman asked, why the Christian was trampling on the cross of the Lord? 'These,' answered the envoy, 'are not the one holy Cross of Christ, but the crosses of the thieves.' He was sent back to his master, laden with many gifts.†

The treaty between Abou Zak, the King of Tunis, and the great King of the Romans, was drawn up early in 1231. Captives, who had not changed their creeds, were to be restored on both sides, and the Moslem dwelling in the island of Pentelaria, between Africa and Sicily, were to be ruled by a Mussulman deputy, sent by Frederick. Merchants were to be free from vexatious interference in both countries. The Emperor was to be answerable for the depredations of Christian pirates, and the Tunisian undertook to make all the coast of

* M. Paris.

† Anon. Vaticani Hist. Sicula.

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Africa, as far as Egypt, secure to the Sicilian caravels. This treaty, negotiated by Vibald a Christian knight, was to last for ten years, but the African afterwards gave offence by opening his harbours to Frederick's Italian enemies. A regular tribute was long paid by the King of Tunis to the rulers of Sicily, whether Norman, Suabian, or Angevin, in return for the corn he was allowed to import from the island.* Frederick also sent frequent embassies to the Caliph of Morocco, and entertained envoys from Cairo at his own cost from the time of their arrival in Apulia. He recruited his army from the subjects of these Mussulman Princes, adding the Moslem of Barbary to their more civilized brethren already at Lucera; just as the Sovereigns of Africa employed Spanish Christians in their service.† The Popes might express their horror at this scandalous interchange of good offices; but the world was far wiser than it had been in the First Crusade, and Sicily and Africa were now drawn closely together by the ties of commerce.

The old Sicilian coinage had been a strange medley; Frederick's grandfather had stamped some of his coins with the Arabic profession of faith; the Emperor himself struck nothing but Latin coins, the execution of which far surpassed that of any other European mint. Constant changes took place; the money of Brindisi was substituted for that of Amalfi; and six trusty men in each town assessed the new coinage at its proper value. It was brought into the various provinces, and its reception was compulsory when it was once made current. Frederick's coins

* Saba Malaspina.

† Chronicon.

were at first called Imperials; but in 1231 the Augustals were struck; they bore his head on the one side and the Eagle on the other.* The mint at Messina existed for the benefit of Sicily and Calabria; a Jewish notary employed in it had once to report to the Emperor that many in these provinces refused to deliver up the old coins after receiving the new, taking advantage of the Secretary's death.†

As regards taxation, Frederick was not satisfied with the usual feudal aids, given for the defence of the Realm, for the Coronation of the Sovereign, for the knighting of his son, for the marriage of his daughter. He had taken much money, as we have seen, for his Crusade; and after that event, he made it a regular practice to enforce a collection of taxes in January every year. His constant wars, sometimes on behalf of Rome, more often against her, forced him to drain the resources of his Sicilian subjects, to whom he made a tardy reparation on his death-bed. Besides the aids, all feudal holders, including even Bishops, paid a relief to the Crown on coming into possession of a fief. The indirect imposts had been numerous even in the golden days of the old Norman Kings; these were now multiplied. There were harbour dues, fishing dues, grazing dues, and others for oil, cheese, and meat, of which the Church took her tithe. To these Frederick added several new taxes on iron, steel, pitch, salt, silk, dyeing, soap, mills, and timber, besides many others. The monopoly of salt, usurped by the Emperor, was a great grievance; he had many salt mines in his domain lands; and if there was any scarcity, he im-

* Ric. San Germano.

† Regesta.

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ported it from Sardinia; he was very unwilling to lower its price. Those who worked in his salt mines sometimes grumbled at the diminution of their wages. Andrew of Isernia, a lawyer who wrote his glosses in the reign of the Angevin Kings, bears witness to the discontent caused by the new taxes, and declares that Frederick who introduced them is sleeping, not in peace, but in pitch.*

The taxes were heavy, but it must be owned that the Emperor did all in his power to lighten them. He watched the proceedings of his officials with a heedful eye, ever ready to put down abuses, and to foster commerce. In 1234 he established yearly fairs, which were to be held at seven cities of the Kingdom in succession, thus stimulating the industry of every one of the provinces. He seemed to forestal our modern advances in political economy. The Crown had indeed its monopolies of various articles in common use, but these were managed in such a way as to further the public interests. No officials were allowed to fatten on the miseries of the people. 'The glory of Rulers,' Frederick writes, 'is the safe and comfortable state of their subjects.' Even at a time when he needed every ounce of gold that his ministers could scrape together, he chid them for their misdirected zeal in raising the tariffs. He forbade them to tax the exportation of provisions from one province to another. He would decree a diminution of taxation in hard times, and would adjust the burden according to the resources of each particular district. Free course was given to trade even in time of war, when

* In pice, non in pace requiescit. See Tiraboschi.

transportation of machines and horses alone was denied. He was willing to wink at the sojourn of the Neapolitan and Venetian enemies in his dominions, and they would only live in peace and abstain from hostilities against him. Frederick's aim was to promote his own power by giving free play to the energies of his people. He was as attentive to the interests of tillage, as to those of commerce. As a great landed proprietor, he built mills for himself and his neighbours, and planned model farms for the instruction of his subjects. These were under the direction of a superintendent, who drew up an inventory of the stock every October. The stewards were closely watched, and were forbidden to employ their own kinsmen on the farms. A strict account of the crops was taken; the wine made was stored in clean vessels; oats, millet, hemp, cotton, &c. were sown on each farm; peacocks, geese, pigeons, and other poultry were bred, and Frederick wished to know what was done with their feathers. Bees were among the live stock; oxen, pigs, goats, and sheep were fattened and sold for the benefit of the treasury; while vines and olives were planted in suitable spots, especially in the country round Messina. The farmers in Western Sicily complained that there was no wood wherewith to make their ploughs, on account of the space occupied by the Emperor's hunting grounds; he hastened to remedy this want. He farmed out marshes and woods in his own domain lands, granting leases for five years to the highest bidder. He kept herds of buffaloes, and we hear of 3000 sheep of his in Calabria, and 500 cows in Sicily; some of these latter were allowed to run wild in the forests. Frederick took pains to maintain a proper

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supply of the most valuable animals, sending orders throughout the Kingdom that those who mares should cover them with asses and horses alternate years. He himself imported steeds of renowned pedigree from Barbary, and established a breeding stud in Apulia.* The yearlings were fully kept at a distance of ten miles from the stallions and mares: they were turned out in the Calabrian mountains, and men were hired to cut grass for them. The charge for disabled horses appears in the Registers: Frederick would insist on knowing when many of his stallions died, and in what way imprisoned certain Sicilian Chamberlains, who had taken advantage of their superior's death to neglect the steeds entrusted to their care. Two of these Sicilian mares were fed on barley by Frederick's special orders, to improve their breed. The island seems to have been also famous for its breed of asses; three were brought over to cover the mares in Frederick's Calabrian stud. On one occasion he sent for three ambling horses, young and sound, for the use of his Court. Saddles for these animals were ordered at Cordova, and were made of good Cordova leather. I was well versed in the management of the studs, and made his servants equally skilful. One of the King's servants, Jordan Ruffo of Calabria, the composer of a treatise on the training of horses, avowed that he owed his knowledge to a long apprenticeship in the Emperor's stables.† About the same time, Master Matteo of Palermo translated from Arabic into Latin a work of Hippocrates on the same subject.‡

* Aratia, the French *haras*.

† Giannone.

‡ Tiraboschi.

Frederick appointed in each province a Master of the Mint, who looked out for all property that might be sold to the Crown, and watched over the Imperial lands, granaries, fisheries, and farms; these lands were leased out various offices to the highest bidder, provided he was a man of good conduct; the Emperor would confirm the appointment, after hearing the particulars. Others bought the privilege of collecting the duties on taxable articles; they were allowed to force the provincials into buying more than was really requisite.

From the preceding facts, it will be clear that, however might be the state of the rest of the Imperial dominions, Sicily and Apulia at least were governed in the enjoyment of a far-seeing ruler, a despot indeed, but a despot who wielded his power to promote the happiness and comfort of his subjects, and not to fleece them. All that was wanted for their complete prosperity was peace in Upper Italy, a boon which they owed to the policy of the Popes. It is true that Honorius, Gregory, and Innocent were loud in their outcries against the Emperor's Sicilian measures, which, aiming at the perfect equality of all before the law, beat down the power of the nobles, bridled the turbulence of the clergy, and broke down faction in the cities. The heavy taxation of Sicily was another charge always ready to be urged against Frederick. But the Sicilians knew when they were well off. They might murmur at the Suabian whips, yet what were these to the stinging Angevin scorpions? That very Pope, who had excommunicated the House of Hohenstaufen for ever, was a witness to the statesmanlike qualities of Frederick, the greatest ornament of his age. Clement the Fourth writes

Sicilian nobility. The old Dukes of Naples had long since passed away; in Frederick's time there were only Counts, Barons, and Knights. He had stripped them of much of the power they had enjoyed since the death of King Roger; but he still allowed them the privilege of being tried by those of their peers who held their fiefs of the Crown alone, whether the charge were civil or criminal. An appeal lay from the sentence to the Emperor, who would then appoint a Count or Baron to pronounce the final decision, after this Judge had sworn to act aright. No alienation of fiefs, whether by deed or by will, was valid in law, without the confirmation of the Crown. Frederick abolished the old harsh laws of prescription, by which adverse possession for a year, a month, a day, and an hour, ousted the rightful owner. The holder of a fief had now to prove undisputed possession for thirty years, before he could be secure for ever. A hundred years' possession was required to bar the claims of the Treasury; the old limit had been forty or sixty years. But these Constitutions of 1231 gave no similar relief to the holders of small farms depending on fiefs.

As to vassals, the Prelates and Nobles were still allowed to retain the customary civil jurisdiction, and to hold their Courts; the Imperial Judge only interfered, when the impleaded vassals of the nobles happened to dwell on his master's domains, or when one of the litigants owed service to the Crown; the fine and the salary were in such cases shared between the Treasury and the Lord. No one was allowed to oppress his vassals contrary to justice, or a fine was due both to the wronged man and to the Treasury; a vassal falsely accusing his Lord had to pay the

by rent or money; 'we,' said the Emperor, 'are the Lords of persons.' If a Lord had made his vassal stand surety in a cause for himself, and did not hold him harmless, the vassal was released from homage, if it was a criminal cause, and was reimbursed for losses sustained, if it was a civil cause. All neglect on the part of the vassal in a question of suretyship for his Lord was punished in a similar way. It was the duty of vassals to protect the life, liberty, lands, and honour of the Lord; to reveal his counsel to no man, to give him notice of all threatening dangers, to defend his land against every man; and these feudal duties could only cease when they clashed with the Emperor's rights, a proviso which Frederick took care to insert. If vassals refused to stand as sureties for their Lord, or committed felony against himself, his wife, or his children, or neglected to render their due service after three summons, or refused to aid him in the law courts, they were liable to disseisin. On the other hand, if the Lord would not stand surety for vassals accused of any criminal charge, treason excepted, or if he flogged them without just cause, or if he debauched their wives and daughters, then homage was at an end, and the parties injured were transferred to the Crown.

Feudal services in the Twelfth Century were more burdensome in Sicily than in some other Realms. Aids were payable for redeeming the Lord's person from public enemies; for making his son a knight; for bestowing his daughter or sister in marriage; for contributing to the purchase of land bought for the Royal service. Prelates might exact an aid for their consecration, for their journey to a Council, for their joining the Royal army, for their travelling on

nounced as a shameless fellow, who disgraced a rank that was the foundation of every dignity. If a knight struck his equal, he forfeited all his horses and arms, besides undergoing a year's banishment. If a knight struck an inferior who was not his vassal, the sentence was left to the discretion of the Judges. Certain rules for their guidance were laid down by Frederick; the time, the place, the witnesses, the injured part were all taken into consideration. The sufferer had to make oath that he would rather have lost so much money than have borne the wrong of which he complained, and according to this oath the aggressor was condemned, always with the right of appeal. The Emperor contented himself with two-thirds of the fine, leaving the rest to the party aggrieved; this boon was an innovation on the custom of several provinces in the Kingdom.

King Roger had forbidden his nobles to celebrate their weddings in private; his grandson went so much further, as to provoke the comment of Andrew of Isernia, that marriage, the institution of God in Paradise, had been prohibited by a side-blow, to the ruin of the Emperor's soul. What Frederick did was this; he enacted a law which prevented any tenant, whether of the Crown or of any other feudal lord, from taking a wife, or from giving a daughter, a sister, or a niece in marriage, without leave from Court; any local custom to the contrary notwithstanding. Aliens, who had dwelt for ten years in the Kingdom and paid taxes, were allowed to marry wives of stainless loyalty. If a Count or Baron died, his heir could not receive the oaths of his vassals, without Frederick's sanction; confiscation followed any breach of this new statute. The noble who was the

afterwards married, these children were placed on a par with his legitimate offspring; and we see, by a case that occurred at Naples, the care of Frederick to uphold the law of the Emperor Anastasius on this point.

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Another law, borrowed from Greece, was the *Jus Protimeseos*, intended to give to the kinsmen and joint tenants of the vendor the right of pre-emption of his real property. Their claim must be made within thirty days, or in certain specified cases of exemption, within four months. All intimidation, direct or indirect, practised on the vendor to force on the sale, was guarded against. On the other hand, those who had the right of pre-emption might exact an oath from both vendor and purchaser, that there was no fraudulent dealing in the sale. The right was denied by general custom to the representatives of the public road, the church, and the city.

To revert to dowries, by the new Constitutions, a baron or knight, if possessed of but one fief, was obliged to provide for his wife in money, not in land. If he were possessed of one fief and a half, he might assign the half fief to his wife; and after his death the lady was bound to render all feudal services. The Crown gave the wardship of heirs under age to its own nominee, who was forced to render an account thereof to the Justiciary, and to replace all losses caused by the fraud of the guardian. In old times his misdeeds used to pass unchallenged. We find Frederick, in 1240, enjoining the Justiciary of the Principato to undertake the wardship of certain children, since their mother Aroasa, a lady with a taste for a religious life, was wasting the revenues of

their deceased father's estate upon nuns and sister-hoods.

We gather from Frederick's Registers a few details respecting the Apulian chivalry. A knight on service had three ounces of gold per month, furnishing his own saddle and bridle, though not always providing his own horse. In some expeditions each knight was expected to bring four horses; if the service was evaded, the defaulter lost his fiefs. We usually find the knight mounted on his destrier, and attended by what was called his family: that is, two squires on mules or inferior horses, while another steed the squire bore the baggage of the party.* The great Signatories sent vast contingents into the field: thus the Abbot of Monte Cassino in one year furnished sixty horsemen and two hundred foot† Frederick was not disposed to lose any of the military service due for land. He praised his Justiciary for summoning certain Neapolitan knights, after cunningly getting from them the title-deeds of their fiefs, in order to know whether they really owed any service. All who were conscious of being debtors to the Treasury were exhorted to come forward without waiting to be informed against: their zeal might thus make amends for the sloth of Officials.

The Marshal commanding the army had authority, by a new law, to decide all disputes between soldiers in the field. A knight who served at his own expense was not bound to answer the complaints of any knight

* The types of *capone da Todi* who lived in this century, are distinguished.

† *Nova Italia* Cavalieri.

‡ *Chi non serve a me destrieri!*

* *N. o. San Germano*.

who served at the charges of another. Employment in the field was a bar to any action brought against soldiers by civilians; even outlaws serving in the army enjoyed this privilege, which was called the *Hosticum*. A man summoned to serve the state might oppose this exception to any citation, and was shielded by it for fifteen days before joining the army, and for fifteen days after his return. The Norman race still maintained their old pre-eminence in the South, as we see by the names of the Imperial officers Fitzosmond, Fitzmauger, Fitzhenry. The great houses, famous for ages in Italian story, already begin to appear. Thus in February, 1240, we find Frederick alluding to the marriage of Bartholomew Caraffa of Spina, a man descended from the old Consuls of the city of Naples and the rulers of Sardinia, who was wedded to Delizia Caraccioli. The Emperor granted letters patent to this Lady, whereby the offspring of the marriage were allowed to bear the name of Caraccioli Caraffa, and to hold certain revenues in the Abruzzese country. The Filangieri, Capecci, Acquavivas, Chiaramonti, and Sanseverini were all very prominent in Frederick's reign. A still higher interest attaches to the well-known patrician names among the Genoese, Venetians, Parmesans, Florentines, and Romans, meeting us at every turn.

But the state of the poor, who tended the vast herds of cattle on the plains of Apulia, or cultivated the vines and olives on the slopes of Etna, now commands our attention. Villenage was widely prevalent in Frederick's Kingdom, and a few monuments remain which illustrate its effects. The men of four villages in Calabria complained to the Emperor's

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Chamberlain, in the year 1221, that they were being oppressed by a neighbouring monastery, that of San Stefano di Bosco, illustrious as the burial-place of the Carthusian founder. The case was remitted to the Imperial Justiciary of the province, when the villeins acknowledged that they were unwilling to go to law with their lords. Shortly afterwards, while the Abbot was at Rome, the peasants laid another complaint before Frederick, who bade the conventual authorities desist from oppressing men, the gift of the pious. Still the suit proceeded. The Proctor of the Abbey had the villeins condemned in a large sum, for non-appearance to a citation. At last their Proctor, Nicholas Asy, appeared, and a long suit ensued. The Abbey brought forward a charter, granted to it by Count Roger, who, after his preservation at Capea through the prayers of St. Bruno, had handed over the forefathers of the complainants, traitorous conspirators as they were, to be, with their posterity, for ever serfs to the famous Carthusian Monastery, where St. Bruno lay buried. The villeins produced a subsequent instrument which discharged them from many of their burdens. But the Court gave sentence in favour of the Abbey, and decided thus:—Every villein must work two days a week for the Abbey, either in reaping, or tending the vineyards, or threshing. Once a year they were to fell timber for their lords. Their dues, to be paid in olives, wine, poultry, and eggs, were all specified. Their asses and teams were to perform certain fixed work in bringing corn, salt, and wood to the monastery. The villeins might give their daughters in marriage to whomsoever they would, provided they first obtained leave from their lord, and paid the usual

tribute. They were to yield the Abbot a feudal aid, whenever he might be summoned to Rome or to the Cistercian Chapter. They had to give sureties for the payment of past arrears.

In spite of this sentence, the villeins persisted in their old course, and once more complained to Frederick. After receiving another Imperial injunction, the Abbot appeared before the Court, and accused the complainants of having uttered falsehoods respecting his conduct. Various questions were put to them, the instruments were brought forward, and judgment was given against them, after a short delay. They were sentenced to pay a fine of 5000 tarens, and the old decision as to their state of villeinage was confirmed. Frederick was enraged at their conduct, and declared that they were the worthy descendants of those traitors, the accomplices of the wretch Sergius, who had plotted to betray the Great Count Roger into the hands of the Capuan enemy. The Emperor was with difficulty dissuaded from putting the villeins to death, but forbore at the prayer of the Abbot, who was highly commended. This ecclesiastic was soon involved in another suit. Two women came before Frederick, and complained that they had been driven by hunger to sell some lands to the Abbot, who had only given them half of the fair price. The Emperor, avowing that the laws come to the aid of the deceived and not of deceivers, sent the case to the Bishop of Mileto; it was decided against the plaintiffs.

In 1225, the Abbot of San Stefano di Bosco was once more before the Court, and was once more successful. He complained that some neighbouring nobles, under the pretence that he owed them three coins

ent. A culprit of the male gender was to undergo imprisonment; but less mercy was shown the female attendant, who, secure of her master's protection, plucked the fruit belonging to the poor ~~the~~ dressers. Such women were to be flogged round the town, no matter what the rank of their ~~lords~~ might be. The Emperor not only favoured the ~~ambler~~ classes in his legislation, but lightened their ~~lives~~ by allotting to them a substantial part in public rejoicings. Thus at San Germano alone, more than ~~we~~ hundred of the poor were feasted in the piazza on meat, bread, and wine, when the joyful anniversary of Frederick's birth was kept by his directions.* The commons, as we see, looked up to him as their best friend.†

A dispute arose at Sorrento, between the clergy, monks, and knights on the one hand, and certain villeins dwelling beyond the walls on the other. The Emperor, by his Proctor, intermeddled in the suit at the prayer of the serfs, and sent the case before Henry of Morra. The Lords appealed to the rights which they held since the days of William II. After Morra had made a report of the case, it was heard by five judges, who decided against the villeins. The work to be done, and the tribute to be paid in kind, was settled. No villein was to make his son a priest, or to give his daughter in marriage, without his lord's leave. We need not be surprised to learn, that runaway serfs were numerous throughout the realm. King William had enacted a kind of Fugitive Slave law, by which all runaways of either sex must be restored, by

* Ric. San Germano.

† Cæsar, amor legum; Friderice, piissime regum.

sticiary alone might intermeddle with them. Excused military service, but was to furnish galleys, as of old, to the fleet; a yearly sum was to be made for the pay of the seamen. A sum was allotted to the man who watered in the public fountain. No citizen was to be engaged to the duel, except on a charge of high treason, and these privileges were extended to any man who might settle in Trani. But it is not that the burghers enjoyed this Charter for many years. Frederick's laws, as we might expect, were unfavourable to the maintenance of peace between the different cities of his realm. Palermo, Messina, Sorrento, and other waifs of the old Empire, which had retained their privileges since the Norman Conquest, were now reduced to the level of their neighbours, the ancient Lombard cities. A custom had long prevailed in the above cities of electing umpires to decide suits between citizens; but Frederick would tolerate no such custom in his own cities. A few cities, such as Messina and Palermo, had enjoyed the privilege of sheltering their citizens from the citations of the Royal officials; but Frederick's Constitutions refused to recognise this right. The city of Gaeta was deprived of her Consuls, as she had yielded to the Emperor's arms. The city of Palermo, 'the first Seat of the Kingdom,' were the only ones respected. The local nobles of Messina, who bore the name of Stratigoti, were expelled in 1240 for refusing to allow appeals in criminal cases, on the ground of this being an infringement on the customs of his city.* No town

* The best book on Messina is the best history of any of the cities of Sicily.

was suffered to set up a Podesta, a Consul, or a Baron, under pain of being laid waste for ever; Frederick would have no imitation of the Lombard League in his Empire: he must be the sole fountain of justice. He and his sons put down with the sword and every attempt at illegal combination.

We cannot satisfy our curiosity as to the manners and customs of Parma or Naples in the days of yore; still we are afforded a glimpse of private life in Parma during Frederick's reign: and doubtless there were numerous households in every part of Italy. A household group is placed before us: the most venerable figure in it is Hermengarde, the aged grandmother, a hundred years old, born before the first Hohenstaufen had been elected to the Crown, ever ready to bestow her counsels on the young folk as to avoiding the evil society and following after wisdom. Then we have the father, hot and passionate, with a strong dislike of the new friars, fond of talking of his adventures in the Crusade, where he earned the best mastery in his company. He laid some of the foundation stones of the noble Baptistery of Parma, which was built on the site of the house of his deceased kinsmen. Still more interesting is the mother, humble and devout, given to fasting and prayer, never seen to be ruffled in temper or to quarrel, even against a servant. Every winter she took in the house some poor woman from the neighbourhood, to whom she gave food and raiment, out of her own store. Lastly, we have little Salimonda, the youngest, with three brothers and three sisters, of whom the eldest was fated to end, owing to their father's cruel and wasteful life. "We destroyed our house in males and females, that we might build it

in heaven.' It was a good old family, and highly respected; the Bishop of Parma himself would gossip with the father, as the worthy Prelate sat at the window of his palace. Another friend was one of the Canons of the Cathedral named Sinibald Fiesco, of whom the world was to hear much. But the earliest recollections of the young Chronicler were of a warlike character; when eight years old he could remember a quantity of mangonels, taken in battle from the Bolognese, standing in the Piazza before the Cathedral. These were trophies of the great fight of San Cesario, which immediately followed Frederick's return from Palestine, and in which Italian party spirit blazed forth in its full vigour. On this occasion it was that the Podesta of Modena knighted his son, saying, 'Go, charge the enemy, and fight like a man.' The youth soon died of a thrust from a lance, when the stern father said, 'I care not, since my son has been knighted and has fallen fighting manfully.' This spirit runs through the whole of the Thirteenth century and many a succeeding one.

But only in the Northern half of Italy; very different was the state of things in the South. Not three years before this battle we find Henry of Morra, the Grand Justiciary, publishing sundry Imperial edicts at San Germano. The burghers must abstain from dice, must shut up their shops at the second toll of the bell, and must not stir abroad at night after the third toll. Certain men were sworn in, to carry out these orders, and to lay fines on transgressors according to the rank of each. Strict inquisition was made whether any lived in too luxurious a style,

If a shopman, for instance, was detected in stretching the cloth he sold beyond the fair measurement of the *canna*, or in using false weights and measures, he was liable to the triple penalty just mentioned, besides having his cheating yard-wand hung around his neck while he was being flogged through the town. A double punishment was inflicted on any Sicilian subject who tried to overreach a pilgrim. The shopkeepers were not the only class under the watchful eye of the Government. The Imperial Bailiffs regulated the wages and tasks of vine-dressers, reapers, and artisans, punishing any attempt at fraud by imposing a fine four times the value of the wages wrongfully received. The State seems to have intermeddled in everything. All merchants entering a city with wares liable to duty were bound, under penalty of forfeiture, to deposit these in a certain place set apart for the purpose; thus the Treasury could not be tricked. The taxes on articles in general use varied according to the state of Frederick's finances. Thus in 1232 he promulgated the following assizes at San Germano. He reduced to their old scale the duties on wine, apples, chestnuts, nuts, and other fruit. It was the same with leather, flax, cotton, Syrian wool, tunny fish, and anchovies; the duty on hemp was altogether remitted. The merchants now paid less for their lodging in the Custom-house, the overseer of which was bound to furnish them with beds, lights, straw, and wood. The tax paid on the various beasts killed in the slaughter-houses was also lessened; and the duties levied on the sale of horses and the pasturage of animals returned to their old scale.* But Frederick, in years

* Ric. San Germano.

1232. of scarcity, was forced to look more narrowly into ~~ways and means~~. Thus, on starting for Germany in 1233, he found himself in great want of money. He allowed the citizens of rebellious Troja to purchase for 6400 ounces of gold the freedom of their brethren whom he had long kept in prison. Three of the townsmen were employed to assess and collect the money. One John Tafuro was rated at the sum of eleven ounces, but he made his escape rather than pay. Frederick's Justiciary sent down an order to satisfy the claims of the Treasury by selling the property of the runaway. A public auction was accordingly held, but no one came forward to purchase. Tafuro's lands only realized three ounces and a half, when sold in private by the collectors.

The towns were shorn to a great extent of their local privileges, but were taught to unite their strength for the common good. Twice, at least, in the course of his reign in 1232 and in 1240, Frederick summoned their deputies to a conference or Parliament 'for the weal of the Kingdom and the general advantage of the State.' Forty-seven cities, all belonging to the Imperial domain, sent two deputies each to the Assembly convoked, which must not be confounded with the Solemn Courts held by the Sovereign and his Barons for the purpose of revising charters, enacting Constitutions, and regulating the government. We should be mistaken in supposing that the Sicilian Parliament enjoyed much of the power implied by the name. There is no trace of any demand against grievances, of any complaints against officials, or of any refusal to grant supplies. The only function of the deputies summoned seems to have been the assessing of the public burdens.

The Emperor demanded a certain sum of money, and the deputies, meekly complying, regulated the ways and means of raising it. 'Send your messengers,' thus runs the writ, 'to see the Serenity of our face on your behalf, and to bring you back our will.' Later in the century, the Assembly acquired greater authority. It is just possible that Simon de Montfort, who is known to have visited the Imperial Court, may have borrowed his famous improvement on the old English constitution from an Apulian source; the gathering of the Commons at Foggia certainly preceded their first meeting at Westminster by thirty years. Other countries besides our own were indebted to Frederick for a better mode of legislation. Shortly after his death, many of his innovations were borrowed by his cousin Alonzo the Wise, and were inserted in *Las Siete Partidas*, the new Code of Castile. The ideas of the Suabian Emperor were evidently the model followed by St. Louis and his successors; in France, as well as in Southern Italy, the lawyer was feeling his way towards the enjoyment of the power wielded of old by the knight and the churchman; Philip the Fair was able to carry out the projects which Frederick had merely been able to sketch. The world made rapid strides between 1230 and 1300.

The Northern half of Italy, distracted by endless struggles, was not insensible to the improvements introduced into the South by her mighty son. But in the North two fatal obstacles existed, the Papal power and the municipal spirit of the various States, which marred all Frederick's efforts in behalf of Italian unity. In vain did he visit in person almost every Italian city, except Milan and Florence; in

their own courts, except for treason or some great
ne. Frederick's Constitutions deduced the duty
paying tithes from the Old and New Testaments;
officials were enjoined to enforce this Divine
igation, at least as far as they could without
ury to his Royal rights. He maintained the
ilian clergy in their dues, even when he was at
r with Rome. But he kept a tight hand upon
h bishops and priests; he upheld every jot of
rights granted by the Papacy to the old Norman
ags. In 1239 he issued a mandate to check the
hop of Caiazzo, who was raising riots both by
and night, and who had seized on certain vassals
lands belonging to the Crown, thinking himself
ve the Law. By a statute of King William's,
property belonging to a cathedral, at the
ate's death, was placed in the hands of three
ymen, until the successor was appointed.
Frederick, in such cases, would put in two
ffs of his own to collect the revenues, keep
buildings in repair, and cultivate the vineyards.
hern Italy then, as now, abounded with Arch-
opricks and Bishopricks, far out of proportion
he requirements of the population. These
erick often kept vacant for the benefit of his
sury. In October 1239, we find by his regis-
that the sees of Girgenti, Monreale, Cefalu,
nia, Reggio, Rossano, Alife, Telesia, Capaccio,
rsa, Teano, Sorrento, Caleno, Policastro, Venafro,
, Aquino, Gaeta, Chieti, Penna, Otranto, Melfi,
æ, Monopoli, Venosa, Salpi, Potenza, Vesti,
oli, Lesina, and many others, were in a state of
owhood. If an Abbess died, the Imperial leave
t be obtained for a fresh election, and the nuns

ation. 'We have heard,' says the Pope, 'that mean to enact new laws, which force men to you a persecutor of the Church, and a superior of public freedom; thus you are working against yourself. We fear that God has withdrawn His favour from you, while you are thus careless of your own fame, supposing you are acting of yourself; if you are urged on by others, we wonder that you listen to such bad counsellors. O that you would value your own peace and our reputation, both of which are endangered by the invectives of the people! The poor, it appears, find their sorrow more bitter in this time of peace. We seem to hear on every hand the howlings of the many that weep.' Gregory also wrote to the Archbishop of Capua, one of Frederick's most trusted advisers: 'We learn that you are, of your own accord, suggesting to the Emperor laws destructive of salvation, and the sources of enormous scandals. You stitch yourself a coronet of fig-leaves, and pretend that you are the pen that writes the laws, not their adviser, though you ought to be their most zealous opponent. You are perhaps glad of the opportunity of showing off your learning, in spite of the displeasure of God, the bestower of knowledge, and of our anger. We exhort you to be mindful of your office, and to amend your former fault.'

The Pope was not the only person who thought the new legislation, dating from 1220, was injurious to the Church. The idea seems to have been widely spread. In October 1231, the Borello of Anglone, one of whom held the See of Avignon, made a gift of lands to the Abbey of Clugny, carefully inserting this clause in the deed:

The sentence of all from the laws, and from every
 institution of Canon, or from any future one, by
 which we may have the power to impair or revoke
 the gift.* The clergy were still under the spell of
 the priesthood although the morals of the Sicilian
 clergy were very lax. Deeds of murderous violence
 were not uncommon. Thus late in 1239 we find
 two monks joining with two laymen in the murder
 of the Duke of Campagna &c. The Emperor wrote
 a stern despatch commenting on the men who
 abused the name and privilege of religion. Such
 crimes, he said, should not go unpunished. The
 ecclesiastics in this occasion were thrown into prison,
 while their lay accomplices were put to the torture.
 Other clerical failings were remarked; the system of
 keeping concubines and of making simoniacal con-
 tracts was in full vogue, as many a Papal letter of the
 age amply testifies. Nor was the disorder confined
 to the lower ranks of the clergy; a bad example
 was set by the highest Prelates. Thus Andrew, the
 Archbishop of Acerenza, who had held that See for
 more than thirty years, was accused of a variety of
 crimes in 1231. He had refused to ordain priests,
 until he had extorted bribes; he had allowed his
 clergy to keep concubines, if they could pay for the
 privilege; he had brought nuns from the East, and
 had kept them at Brindisi for infamous purposes. He
 had added cruelty to his other vices, for when acting
 as Justiciary during the inroad of the Emperor
 Otto, he had mutilated two men. The Pope now
 instituted an enquiry into his conduct, and forced
 him to resign.† Great jealousy existed between the

* Ughelli, for Siponto.

† Ughelli gives Gregory's letters of 1231 on these charges.

secular clergy and the begging friars. The Minorites at Palermo were prevented by their rivals from building a convent, and Gregory ordered the Archbishop of the city to make good their losses. The Franciscan buildings at Patti were greatly obstructed, for the seculars pulled down during the night whatever the brethren had built in the day. The feud was only arrested upon the Pope's threatening to curse the aggressors. When the Emperor was at war with Rome, the enemies of the friars ventured to much greater lengths. In 1248, an Abbot and a Bishop, who were brothers, harassed the Minorites in Apulia, cut off the garments, hoods, and sleeves of the friars, and forbade them to beg for the necessaries of life. The victims comforted themselves by rehearsing the Divine judgments said to have fallen upon the oppressors.* The new race of friars carped at the old-established Orders. The Benedictine Abbots, the worst specimens of whom dwelt in Italy, were accused of eating meat with seculars, while their monks were left to a vegetable diet in the refectory. If a Dominican or a Franciscan were promoted to a Bishoprick, the election was sure to be due to worldly motives; for the Canons of Cathedrals did not care to set a good man above them, who was likely to reprove them for their carnal vices. Some Italian towns had a peculiar distaste for virtue and the begging friars. Thus at Parma, clergy and laity, men and women, high and low, all alike refused to show any devotion to the Brethren, and preferred to spend their money on buffoons. In France, any city of the size of

* Wadding.

nging as they marched, to hear the famous
an and Franciscan preachers, who held forth
; noon, and evening. High and low alike
to be drunk with Divine love.* The Empe-
ed upon these exhibitions with no loving eye,
e friars were often unwilling to draw the line
things spiritual and temporal, and made
their vast influence to weaken the Imperial
y.

ne enthusiasm drawn out by the new ma-
lately furnished to the Church was only
ufficient to make head against the heretical
hich swarmed throughout Italy. These
their way into the cities of the Kingdom,
Naples; but their chief conquests were
l in the North. As was the case long after-
ith the Huguenots and Puritans, the Paterines
eir converts mainly from the middle classes
towns. The heretical burghers of Como,
nd Cremona spared no pains in proselytising,
ertained their neophytes most sumptuously.
hest wines and the choicest fruits were used
. A pervert would be kept for months in
uses, and would then be passed on from one
another, always lodging with the initiated.
erine merchants were ever on the look-out
ary customers, whom they entrapped both
lly and spiritually. Most of the Lombard
can cities sent heretical students to Paris for
pose of learning logic, to be turned against
odox faith.† Nor were the Prelates of the

bene. Ric. San Germano. The former says that the
enti, so well known to students of Dante, arose in 1233.
ae curious letter of Ivo de Narbonne in M. Paris.

they pretended to undergo the passion of martyrdom. They offended alike God, their neighbours, themselves ; careless of their own lives, strangely, they were not overawed by the prospect before them. The Neapolitan heretics were most worthy of punishment, since they dared to practise the superstitions close to the seat of the Church. Their crime was worse than treason ; they were to lose their lives, their goods, and their reputation. Frederick's officials were ordered to search after them, and to bring them on the very slightest suspicion before the Bishops ; if found guilty, the culprits were doomed to the stake ; no man might make a transaction with the Crown for such wretches. Those who favoured them were banished and stripped of their goods ; the only way in which the reputation of a family inclined to heretical errors could be redeemed, was, for a member of it to come forward and denounce some other Paterine. The legislation at Frederick's was stern enough, but it did not quite rival the laws of Toulouse, under which Languedoc was groaning. Still Frederick's laws assuredly retarded the progress of heresy in Southern Italy. Roger had long before enacted severe statutes against apostate Christians and robbers of Churches. Heretics were in general looked upon as only inferior to robbers, having been expressly condemned by the Fathers. The Emperor would not allow any heretic to be a native of his Kingdom, or any sojourner within it, to practise usury ; confiscation of all the goods of a heretic culprit was the penalty, and all borrowers at interest might denounce their creditors in the Courts. In spite of this virtuous indignation, Frederick and his Papal enemies were glad to

let die.* A learned Prince like Frederick had a still further motive for patronising the children of Israel; they were renowned as translators. One of them, named Antoli, came from Provence to Naples, and there published a version of the *Almagest* in 1231. In the next year he translated some works of Averrhoes, ending with an eulogium on Frederick, who had provided him and his family with the means of life. 'God has put the love of learning and of its cultivators into the Emperor's heart; may He manifest His clemency in the man, whom He has raised above all the Kings of the earth!' The writer hopes that his national Messiah may appear during Frederick's reign. Another Jew, born in Spain, named Judah Cohen Ben Salomon, established himself in Italy and corresponded with his patron on hard questions of geometry, which the Emperor was fond of proposing.†

But Frederick regarded his Mohammedan subjects with still greater favour. His establishment of them at Lucera was a scandal to Christendom. They pulled down the Church at Foiano, twenty miles from their new abode, and carried off the stones and timber to build their houses. Pope Gregory complained of this outrage in 1232, remarking that too much indulgence was shown to the sons of Belial, whose just doom ought to be slavery, and who ought not to be placed on an equal footing with the children of light. In the following year, he sent a mission of Dominicans to enlighten this people that dwelt in darkness, requesting the Emperor to water where the Pope had planted. Frederick returned a dutiful

* Regesta.

† See Bréholles' Preface.

champion of Islam against Christian cavillers. Frederick had already in vain sent his Questions into Egypt, Syria, Irak, Daroub, Yemen, and Tunis; no satisfactory solution had come. He then sent them by an Ambassador to Raschid, the Caliph of Spain, who pitched upon Ibn Sabin to solve them. The philosopher received them with a smile, answered them, and refused the Emperor's proffered guerdon, only desiring the conversion of the Christian. He besought Allah to turn the learner from the doctrine of vague reasonings, and to bring him to the certainty of truth. Ibn Sabin begins by rebuking the Emperor for using inexact and obscure language, when treating of points that had puzzled the greatest philosophers, and for falsely attributing to Aristotle the theory of the world's existence from everlasting. He then lays down the exact meaning of certain Arabic words loosely used by Frederick in one Question as to the existence of the world, and he ends by pronouncing that our planet was created. The second Question was, 'What is the end of Theology, and what are the preliminary theories indispensable to it?' Ibn Sabin quotes largely from Aristotle, but answers that the preliminaries required are doctrine and works, and that their subject is the Koran. 'The best thing,' writes the Moslem, 'would be to have a personal interview with you; for your questions prove that you know not the sciences, and that you have not tasted speculative doctrines, though you desire to walk in the way of truth. If you cannot come to me yourself, you might send a man of scholastic attainments, who is in your confidence. You must know that all these questions of yours are already known here, better

Princes and philosophers, Frederick naturally wished to keep up the knowledge of Arabic in his dominions. Two of the slaves at his Court bore the Eastern names of Mosca and Marzuch; a third, Abdallah, learned to read and write the Saracen character, while the cost of his board and education was defrayed by his master.* In the medical schools at Salerno, the Arabs were taught in their own language; while the Latins, the Greeks, and the Hebrews were equally favoured. Even women, it is said, profited by the teaching of the various professors, and gained a reputation for themselves by their lectures and writings.† The Emperor himself was most attentive to sanitary matters, forbidding any physician to practise, who could not produce testimonials from the board at Salerno and a license from the Court. The examination of the surgeon-expectant, as it seems, extended to his own political principles and to those of his family. No one might give lectures on medicine, except at Naples or Salerno.‡ The Masters in physic at the latter University licensed two men in each town throughout the Kingdom to sell electuaries and syrups; any fraudulent dealings on the part of the Masters involved a capital sentence; an oath was taken by all druggists to compound their medicines with due heed. Frederick allowed no physician to practise without three years' study of logic, and five years' study of medicine and surgery; the practitioner was sworn to denounce all foul play

* Regesta.

† Von Raumer.

‡ The physician of Philip Augustus, quoted by Tiraboschi, speaks thus of Salerno:

'Urbs Phœbo sacrata, Minervæ sedula nutrix,
Fons physicæ, pugil eucrasie, cultrix medicinæ.'

Roland, who answered, had so much the best of the argument, that the whole affair turned out to the great glory of the Order.*

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A more illustrious sage than Theodore now and then appeared at the Emperor's Court. A Pisan, acting as consul for the merchants of his city at Bougie, had his son Leonard brought to him in Africa. There the youth learnt all that Egypt, Syria, Greece, or Provence could teach in mathematics. He included in his studies Euclid and the use of the Hindoo numerals. Leonard Fibonacci grew up, and had the lot of most benefactors of mankind, being nicknamed by his Pisan countrymen Bigollone, or the Fool. He wrote his treatise on the Abacus in 1202, the second edition of which he dedicated to Michael Scott in 1228, at the request of that worthy. In this work he pointed out the close connexion between arithmetic and geometry, and enjoined daily study on his disciples. He also mentioned the mysterious Elcataym, the Algebra so well known to us, which Leonard was the first to introduce into Christendom. Another work he dedicated to Theodore, 'the highest Philosopher of the Imperial Court,' asking him at the same time to correct and prune the treatise. Cardinal Regnier of Viterbo was a frequent correspondent, who took a keen interest in Leonard's problems. But the chief patron of the Pisan sage was the Emperor himself. To him Leonard addressed his Treatise on Square Numbers, which has lately been brought to light. When Frederick was at Pisa, he heard an arithmetical problem proposed by John of Palermo,

* Salanhacus in Echard.

s in behalf of his new University at Naples, h had no slight influence in making that city capital of the realm, after the lapse of a few a. He thought it, as he says, only proper that iegees of rich Sicily should not beg for learning oreign parts, but that they should have a table before them at home. His forefathers had drawn t foreigners to their Sicilian schools. He there- , wishing to restore the Kingdom to its old splen- r, had pitched upon Naples as the future seat of ning, praising it for the purity of its faith and the pleasantness of its site. Masters and scholars e alike invited to the proffered banquet. Sicily uld be as eminent for learning as for fruitfulness.

arts and sciences had too long lain dormant, ng the King's disastrous minority. Naples, as ancient mother and home of learning, easily oached by sea and abounding in the wealth of i, would be grateful alike to teachers and to ers. Bishops, Barons, Judges and all ranks, : invited to aid the good work. The service of and the practice of justice were the two great cts in view. Riches and honours would be vered upon the students, who had long hungered the learning which had been denied them at e. Provisions in plenty, roomy halls, and a ty greeting from kindly Naples awaited the lars, and the Emperor would heap gifts upon e worthy of them. 'We keep the students,' he , 'within view of their parents; we save them y toils and long foreign journeys; we protect n from robbers; they used to be pillaged while elling abroad, they may now study with small and short wayfaring, thanks to our liberality.'

of every profession. Do you then help us in restoring our University, since we are gathering there doctors in theology, professors of each branch of law, and masters of all the liberal arts. Next September (1235) we hope that our scholars will begin their studies, and we invite you, as men of experience, to our University; you will have a warm welcome from our kindly subjects.' About the same time Frederick sent a famous Professor of Civil Law to the University of Vercelli, a high proof of favour.

A few years later, while carrying on a desperate war in Lombardy, the Emperor was not unmindful of his Neapolitan scholars. The University had sent two envoys to his feet, whose requests he granted in 1239, in spite of their inopportune appearance. Instead of suppressing the foundation, as he had intended, he now threw open its halls to all his subjects of the Kingdoms of Jerusalem and Sicily, invited the Transalpines and all the inhabitants of Upper Italy, and only excepted eight rebel cities, together with all abettors of the Papal power. He went on to advise the gownsmen to live in peace with the townsmen, for the University of Naples seems to have resembled her Northern sisters in pugnacity. Andrew of Cicala was ordered to see that the students were not harassed by the officials. Bartholomew Pignatelli of Brindisi was raised by the Emperor to a chair, and was licensed to explain the Decretals. The death of Walter of Ascoli, who had taught grammar in the University, was likened by Peter de Vinea to an eclipse of the sun. John of Parma, one of the most daring speculators of the age, lectured on theology at Naples before his promotion to the Generalship of the Franciscan Order in 1247. Sicily was in the mean time

the original Greek. Paris and Constantinople had been brought into close connexion by the issue of the Fourth Crusade. The Dominicans and Franciscans were ever running to and fro between the East and the West on the errands of Rome. It is not surprising that they were eager importers of Aristotle, whose works were by degrees tacitly adopted by the Church. The University of Paris had been at first the enemy of the new learning; she was now the enemy of the begging friars. Albert the Great, the famous Dominican, became the ablest commentator on the Greek philosopher, although working upon a vilely corrupt text; the master was followed by his pupil, Thomas Aquinas, who had access to far better manuscripts.* Roger Bacon, our great Franciscan, was an ardent admirer of Aristotle, and lifted up his voice against the bad translations, only fit for the fire, which were made by pretenders ignorant alike of Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic. Ignorance of the first of these languages was inexcusable; it was still widely spoken in Southern Italy. This is plain from the fact, that Greek charters were sometimes brought to the Emperor, the benefactions of his Norman forefathers, which he confirmed, making use of the Latin language. He even found it advisable to publish a Greek version of his Constitutions. After his death, the Greek began to die out, and the Ecclesiastical authorities deemed it needful to have Latin translations made of their ancient Charters.† The Judges and Notaries of Reggio boasted of their skill in both tongues. Still, the old Greek long maintained its sway. We hear that there were Greek

* Jourdain.

† τὰ λατίνα καὶ τὰ γραῖκα οὕτως λαλοῦντα.

sayer shake our faith in the gift he was supposed to possess, more especially when we find him allotting two-and-seventy years of prosperity to the Emperor. It was an age of insatiable curiosity as to the hidden future; Frederick's father had, forty years before, induced Abbot Joachim to write commentaries on the Old Testament prophecies, Merlin, and the Sibyls. The greatest preachers and logicians of the time pored over the books of the renowned Calabrian seer.* Salimbene, as wise as most men of his century, eagerly devoured any prophetic writings; of all the ten Sibyls, he could find only the Erythræan and the Tiburtine prophetesses, whom he searched for information as to Frederick's life. The friar rehearses with awe the sixty lines ascribed to Michael Scott, threatening dire woes to almost every city in Lombardy.

The name of this renowned soothsayer is better known to us in connection with Melrose Abbey and the Eildon Hills than with his real abodes, the cloisters of Castile and the Court of Apulia. After having studied at Oxford and Paris, Michael betook himself to Toledo. His earliest work, a treatise on the Sphere of Alpetronji, bears the date of 1217. This was followed by several translations from Averrhoes. In 1224, Scott's reputation was so well established, that Pope Honorius gave him leave to hold two benefices in England. Donat O'Lonargan resigned the Archbishoprick of Cashel in that year, and Honorius was eager to place the great scholar in the vacant see; Scott refused it on the ground of his not knowing Irish.† Among the first letters

* Salimbene.

† Regesta of Honorius, MSS. in the British Museum.
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written by Gregory on his election in 1227, was one to Archbishop Langton in the interest of Master Michael Scott, who, as the Pope says, had not been content with Latin literature, but had toiled at Hebrew and Arabic. So illustrious a scholar, who had abandoned all for the sake of learning, ought to be rewarded with a suitable benefice.* On the other hand, both Albert the Great and Roger Bacon accuse Scott of the grossest ignorance. Michael dedicated to Frederick a translation of Avicenna's work upon Animals, with the fervent wish that it might be an ornament to the head and a chain to the neck of the Lord of Earth. Another work on Physiognomy by Scott, composed at Frederick's request, was one of the first manuscripts to be printed.†

The wise man, it is said, knew that he should die by a small stone of a certain weight dropping on his head. To avert his doom, he invented the iron covering for the head known as the *correllier*. But one day, being in Church, he uncovered his head at the elevation of the Host; a stone fell on him, which he caused to be weighed. On learning its weight, he settled all his worldly affairs and awaited his end, which soon came.‡ All sorts of tales about the Astrologer were long current in Italy. Thus the Emperor, it is said, once asked Michael Scott, what was the distance from the chamber where they were sitting to the sky. After being answered, he took the wise man with him to another part of the Kingdom, and in the mean time had the roof of the chamber lowered, so that the change was almost imperceptible.

* Regesta MSS. in the British Museum.

† Jourdain.

‡ Fran. Pipin. Dante's lines upon Scott are well known.

When this was done, Frederick brought back his friend to the old place, and asked him if his former reckoning was right. Michael went through some calculations, and then said, that either the sky had been raised or at any rate the earth had been lowered. Another time, the Emperor took it into his head to investigate the origin of language. He had certain babies brought up, enjoining the nurses not to speak or caress their charges. But Frederick was disappointed in his wish to know whether the children would speak Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Arabic, or modern Italian; they all died, since they missed the lullabies and nursery rhymes. A third experiment was made on the digestive powers of mankind; two men were treated to a very good meal; then one was sent to sleep, another to hunt; in the evening Frederick had them both ripped open in his presence, and the medical men decided that the sleeper had digested his food the best.* These are samples of the legends about the Apulian Court, which were carried into the North and there retailed to lovers of the marvellous. The Emperor certainly had some knowledge of physic; thus in his Constitutions he avowed that to those who searched into truth and the nature of things it seemed a frivolous or rather fabulous notion, that the minds of men could be moved to love or hatred by meat or drink. He was a diligent student of all sciences, both earthly and heavenly; his mind, ever busy, was compared to the swift motion of the wind. His contemporaries attributed his wondrous faculties to the arts of the astrologers and necromancers, in whom he delighted. His mathematical studies, so

* Salimbene.

teries of Nature than for those of Religion. There was a man in Sicily named Nicholas, upon whom his mother had once called down a curse, that he might ever live in the water and seldom come to land. The Emperor had often made this man dive in the Faro; wishing to know if the bottom had been reached, Frederick threw his golden cup into the deepest part, which the diver brought back. A second attempt being proposed, Nicholas said: 'Do not send me thither, for the sea is so disturbed, that I shall never return; there are rocks, and many wrecked ships, and huge fish at the bottom.' But Frederick would make him dive again, and Nicholas never came up. These tales, and many more, were brought into Northern Italy by the friars of Messina, one of whom was Salimbene's cousin. Towards the end of the century, Romagnole mothers used to frighten their naughty children into silence by a reference to Nicholas the Fish.*

Frederick delighted in sculpture, painting, and architecture, and gathered around him all the choicest works of art he could find. Like most collectors of rarities, he was very unscrupulous; Ravenna and Grotta Ferrata had to yield up their treasures, in order that Lucera and Palermo might be embellished. Even in the midst of a costly war, he found a large sum of money to lay out upon an onyx and other jewels, sold to him by some Provençal merchants. He bought from the Venetian traders a sculptured throne, together with more rich furniture.† He also seized upon the most prized gems of the Churches and convents in the Kingdom. But un-

* Fran. Pipin.

† Regesta.

with marbles of different colours, and with the remains of mosaics. The windows, one of which over the entrance gate recalls the triforium of Westminster Abbey, are finely sculptured, commanding a wide view; the reservoirs for water are well contrived, with a noble cistern in the court. Painting was largely employed in the decoration of Frederick's mansions, although Cimabue, the reputed father of the art, was not born until towards the close of the Emperor's reign. In the Palace at Naples, the Monarch was painted sitting on his throne, and addressing his kneeling subjects, bidding them take their lawsuits to the tribunal of Peter de Vineia, who was seated near.* This picture was probably a fresco, of the age and style of those painted on the walls of the old Palace of Westminster. If the halls of Naples were adorned by the limner, the fortress of Capua was decked by the sculptor. Its front, commanding the bridge over the Voltorno, was flanked by two huge towers, and was ornamented with statues, bas-reliefs, marbles, and alabaster. Frederick was represented in his Crown and robes, with one arm outstretched, the other resting on his knee; the two pillars of his realm, Peter de Vineia and Thaddeus of Sessa, were on either hand, with Latin verses beneath each statue. The Castle of Capua kindled the admiration of the foreign soldiery, who passed through the city on their way to overthrow Frederick's heir; but it was demolished three hundred years ago.† The Emperor, we have said, was a great builder; he drew out the plan of new cities with his own hand; many owed their origin to him,

* Fran. Pipin.

† Bréholles' Preface.

peror founded Melehu di and Petrolla on the mainland, in the district of Otranto ; but the men whom he wished to settle there got off by bribing the officials, at which the neighbouring Barons connived ; his wrath broke out in two rebukes addressed to the Justiciary.* In 1235, he endeavoured to repeople the old town of Cuma, destroyed by the Neapolitans during his minority ; he sent thither many who belonged to his domain land.† The contrast between the state of Northern and Southern Italy at this time is still further marked by the emigration of several Lombards under Otho of Cambrana in 1237. They came before Frederick at Brescia, and represented to him that they were weary of constant war and oppression ; he removed them at their prayer into Sicily, and settled them at last on his rich domain lands at Corleone, granting them the right of pasture and of cutting down wood to build their houses. Such emigrants paid no taxes for ten years after their arrival. Twelve years later, Frederick transferred his Lombard colony to Militello, and endowed them with the privileges of Norman law. In 1240, he provided for the defence of his Kingdom by founding Aquila in the Abruzzi, hoping by this means to block up that road so often trodden by invaders, traitors, and robbers. Pope Gregory had already entertained the idea of building this new city ; Frederick named it after his ensign, and endowed it with the neighbouring lands and woods : all vassals who fled to it were safe from their lords, to whom however a fixed compensation was made ; the towers within its limits were to be destroyed. Aquila might fortify itself with

* Regesta.

† Ric. San Germano.

of Thirteenth century architecture, if we except the Basilica of San Lorenzo beyond the walls, thoroughly restored by Pope Honorius, and the noble Tribune of San Paolo with its mosaics, unhappily the only part of that church which has been spared by a late disastrous fire.* If Frederick gave but little countenance to church-building in the North, he atoned for this by the number of castles he built for his Vicars and Captains. Lombardy, Tuscany, and Romagna were overawed by his many fortresses; he was anxious to have a Palace or a Castle in every city that owned his sway.†

Among the arts cultivated with success at the Apulian Court was poetry. Frederick's Kingdom was indeed full of local memories, recalling the past triumphs of the godlike art. The tongue of Bion and Theocritus was still spoken in Sicily and Calabria. Few lands possess associations which can rival those linked for ever with the banks of the Ofanto, the cool streams of Sulmona, the tomb looking down upon Naples, the town of Aquino. The first great epoch of Italian song had long passed away; but its second age was now about to dawn. The supremacy of the Latin, as the language of the learned, was being invaded by her daughter. Already, towards the end of the previous century, Ciullo of Alcamo had written poems in the Sicilian dialect. St. Francis had made the vulgar tongue the vehicle of religious rapture; but it received its great impetus at the hands of Frederick and his courtiers. The most renowned master, who ever wielded the resources of the modern Italian, acknowledged his

* F. Pipin.

† Salimbene.

country's debt to this Emperor. 'The illustrious
 names, Frederick Cesar and his noble son Manfred,
 followed after elegance and scorned what was mean;
 so that all the best compositions of the time came
 out of their Court. Thus, because their Royal throne
 was in Sicily, all the poems of our predecessors in
 the vulgar tongue were called Sicilian.* And Dante,
 who was born little more than fourteen years after
 Frederick's death, was well able to appreciate the
 fostering cares of the Imperial bard. Indeed it
 seemed at one time as if Palermo, and not Florence,
 was to be the cradle of the sweet Italian tongue.
 The Emperor himself was a poet, who had an eye
 not only for the charms of his sovereign lady, 'the
 flower of all flowers, the rose of May,' but also for the
 beauties of Nature—a source of inspiration commonly
 despised by the Troubadours of the middle ages.†

In his days we find the first traces of the poetical
 crown, which Petrarch long afterwards inherited.
 There was a bard living near Ancona, who bore the
 title of the King of Verses, and who received the

* Dante, *De vulgari eloquio*.

† I give a specimen of Frederick's rhymes from the *Parnaso Italiano*, where five poems of his may be found:—

"Per vâ son gioioso,
 Gai ed amoro,
 Vaso prezioso,
 D'amore lenoso.
 Pregovi, Donna mia,
 Per vostra cortesia,
 E pregovi che sia
 Quello, che lo core d'io."

Six hundred years have made very little change in the Italian language. The old orthography is preserved in the ballads quoted by Cherrier and by the editors of Salimbene.

honour of coronation at Frederick's hands shortly after 1220, with all due solemnity. This poet, however, soon retired from the world, being converted by St. Francis himself. We may further mention the names of Patecelo, Salimbene, and that mysterious Sordello, as Lombard composers in the vulgar tongue. Alcadino, a doctor at Salerno, made epigrams at Frederick's instance on the baths of Pozzuoli, and also wrote in his patron's praise.* The Emperor's sons, Enzo, Conrad, and above all, Manfred, have bequeathed to us poems in Italian and German. Peter de Vineia has left us the earliest specimen of the Italian sonnet. Rinaldo of Aquino, James of Lentini, Inghilfredi of Palermo, and the two Colonnas of Messina, were poets who flourished in Frederick's reign. The political ballad, which had hitherto been couched in Latin, took its vernacular form rather later in the century, almost exactly at the moment when it underwent a like transformation into the vulgar tongue of England. The Italian muse made her first efforts in this style both in behalf of and against Conradin, the Emperor's ill-starred grandson, who was himself a poet.†

From all this it will be clear that Commerce, Learning, and Art were basking in the smiles of a Patron, such as they had not had since the age of Charlemagne and Alfred. Every branch of knowledge was starting into life, after a sleep that had lasted for centuries. The clerks of Paris were no longer to enjoy a monopoly. The tide of enquiry, awakened early in the Thirteenth century, flowed on without a check to the age of the Reformation, which alone

* Tiraboschi.

† See the poems in the Appendix of Cherrier.

Emperor claims the merit of having introduced into Europe the hood to cover the falcon's eyes; the Eastern Sultans had sent their best falconers to him when he was in their country, and he had thus learnt many things.* The treatise of the Imperial author, with some additions by his son Manfred, has often been printed, and is still cited with respect. In the noble hall at Frankfort, which is adorned with the portraits of every one of the German Cæsars, Frederick is painted with a hawk on his wrist. He was once summoned to submit by the Khan of the Tartars, who was then ravaging the frontiers of the Empire. Cæsar was offered any post he might choose for himself at the barbarous Court; he laughed, and said he knew enough of birds to take the place of Grand Falconer.† The book, upon which he rested his literary fame, proves that he succeeded far better in Latin prose than in verse; the Latin lines ascribed to him, to say the truth, are below the rhyming jingles of the dullest monk. He should have wooed the Italian Muse, and none other.

But it is Frederick's private life that most attracts our curiosity. We care little for a monkish description of the great Emperor, as he enters some city of his dominions with the gold-embroidered canopy borne above his head, while the Barons and Abbots of the neighbourhood welcome him with joy and banqueting.‡ We would fain know more of his every-day life; what rude things were said to his

* Albertus Magnus, in his treatise on hawks, quotes largely from William, a Sicilian falconer.

† Alb. Trium Fontium.

‡ Chron. Neritinum for 1225. One of these Imperial canopies may still be seen at Ratisbon.

ies this habit on Sundays.* He consults his
ogers, Master Theodore or Michael Scott, on
y that lies before him. Peter de Vinea, we
e sure, has an early audience ; he discusses the
ss of the Kingdom with his master, and makes
ple of overturning any of Frederick's decrees.†
not their only topic ; the Emperor perhaps
a poem he has composed in honour of some
te beauty ; and the Magistrate produces
et, of which Petrarch himself might be

Frederick then dictates to his Secretaries
ndates which are to go forth into every pro-
of the Kingdom ; the most trifling subject,
the breeding of poultry, the purchase of an
e removal of a superannuated keeper, does
ape the master's eye. If there are illustrious
ers from distant lands at the Apulian Court,
s must be drawn up, to be afterwards signed
Emperor. The Bishops of Burgundy, the
of Saxony, the cities of Tuscany, the Knights
stine, all alike turn to Frederick's Throne as
ommon centre of attraction, and await their
ive messengers who will bring home the im-
f the Golden Bull. The Secretaries must take
the Emperor once had the thumb of a care-
ibe cut off, because the man wrote Fredericus
of Fridericus.‡

weighty affairs of the Empire are debated in
sence of the highest nobles, both Germans and
t. A famous lawsuit between Florence and
is decided in a Court comprizing Gebhard
rnstein, the Count of Acerra, the Count of

oduranus.

† Guido Bonatti.

‡ Salimbene.

as in duty bound; I wonder therefore that you do not ask me for news.' Frederick answers: 'I have my own envoys in all Courts and provinces, and I know all that goes on in the world.'—'Our Lord Jesus Christ,' replies the Dominican General, 'knew all things, since he was God; yet he asked his disciples, "Whom do men say the Son of man is?" You assuredly are but a man; and you are ignorant of many things said of you, which it is very much your interest to know. It is said of you, that you oppress the Churches, that you scorn censure, that you put faith in auguries, that you favour Jews and Saracens too much, that you do not employ faithful advisers, that you pay no respect to the Vicar of Christ, the Father of Christians and our spiritual Lord; and surely all these things do you no honour.' The Preacher, like an Old Testament prophet, goes on with his lecture after this courtly opening.*

Other Germans, besides Jordan, find their way to the far distant throne of their Kaiser. Master Henry of Cologne comes to borrow one of Michael Scott's works from the Imperial library; its owner is most liberal of his treasures, and the transfer of the book is made in the house of Volmar, the Court physician.† Perhaps Hermann von Salza has arrived from the North, having taken Rome on his way. Frederick hails with peculiar delight the stout old warrior, the hero of the white mantle, who was battling in the Holy Land at the time when the Emperor was a babe in the cradle.‡ The friends talk over the affairs of Palestine, the haughtiness of the Templars,

* Acta Sanctorum, Feb. 13. † See the Charters for 1232.

‡ Voigt. Hermann landed at Acre in 1196.

[illegible]

of the massacre of a whole people, that once dwelt between the Rhine and the Elbe. The Stedingers of Friesland have for thirty years scoffed at the laws of Rome. A Crusade is preached against them by the Archbishop of Bremen; the dams of their country are broken; and an army of 40,000 men, headed by the neighbouring Counts, annihilate the heretics, in spite of an heroic resistance. Rome hopes to reign triumphant in Germany after the bloody year 1234.*

Perhaps some Crusader of high birth, on his way home from Palestine, makes his appearance at Court. He is conducted thither by Frederick's Seneschal, who furnishes horses and mules for the journey. The knights of the various cities, through which the noble stranger passes, turn out on horseback by the Imperial orders, and their ladies in choicest apparel greet him with flowers and music. His health is restored by baths, medicines, and bleeding, during his stay at Court; for the Emperor understands physic. Should the guest be highly favoured, he is admitted by special order to an interview with the Empress.†

A great variety of strangers meet at the banquetting hour. Ambassadors from the Greek Monarch arrive with a present of falcons. Some clerical visitors from Germany are astounded to find themselves seated close to the turbaned men of the East, and shudder on hearing that these are envoys from the Sultan of Cairo and the Old Man of the Mountain.‡ The honest Germans whisper among themselves some remarks on the late end of the

* See the Annals of Worms, Treves, Cologne, &c.

† M. Paris.

‡ Godefr. Colon.

[illegible]

1. *Introduction*
 2. *Background*
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guests quite as much as the Greek wine and the viands prepared by Berard the Court cook, who is famous for his *scapece*; this dish, consisting of fish boiled in salt water and sprinkled with saffron, popular to this day in the province of Lecce, has been derived from Apicius.*

The meal being over, Frederick takes his German friends to see his son Conrad, the future King of the Romans.† He ponders with a sigh over the tales from the North respecting the unruly conduct of his other son, Henry, and promises his guests soon to cross the Alps himself, and once more to revisit Imperial Haguenau, which he has not seen for many a long year. He points with a father's pride to Enzo, his golden-haired darling, who bids fair to be the best cavalier in Italy. The little Manfred, the most renowned of Frederick's children, who is destined to have all his sire's virtues with hardly one of his sire's faults, is now a babe in the arms of his mother, the Marchioness of Lancia, a fair Piedmontese. The brothers of the frail Bianca are in high esteem, and are entrusted with important offices. The Emperor's favourite is watched with Oriental jealousy, and is under the care of hideous eunuchs from Africa. Every consort whom Frederick may choose must make up her mind to undergo the like imprisonment.‡

The Emperor now shows his guests the wild beasts, which he has had brought from Africa and the East. There is the huge elephant, soon to be sent to Cremona, the bearer of the Imperial banner, guarded

* Regesta for 1240.

† Conrad de Fabaria.

‡ Alb. von Beham.

The first of these is the fact that the
 East is not a single entity, but a
 collection of many different countries and
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 which is constantly changing. The third is
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up to the hills for the summer.* His hunting establishment is upon a large scale ; we read of nineteen falconers being sent at one time to fetch hawks from Malta ; others of these birds are found at Lampedusa, Pantellaria, and the neighbouring isles. He has cranes taken alive for the purpose of training his falcons.†

The treasures, with which Frederick dazzles the eyes of his visitors, rival those of Solomon. The Sultan of Egypt has given his Christian brother a tent of wonderful workmanship, displaying the movements of the sun and moon, and telling the hours of the day and night. This prodigy, valued at 20,000 marks, is kept at Venosa.‡ There is also a throne of gold, decked with pearls and precious stones, doomed to become the prey of Charles of Anjou and Pope Clement.§ There are purple robes embroidered with gold, silks from Tripoli, and the choicest works of the Eastern loom. Frederick charms the ears of his guests with melodies played on silver trumpets by black slaves, whom he has had trained.|| He himself knows how to sing. Travelers, jesters, poets, philosophers, knights, lawyers, all find a hearty welcome at the Apulian Court ; if they are natives of the Kingdom they address its Lord in the customary second person singular, ‘Tu, Messer.’¶ He can well appreciate the pretensions of each guest, since he is able to converse with all his many subjects, each in his own tongue. The Arab from Palestine, the Greek from Calabria, the Italian from

* Villani.

† Regesta.

‡ God. Coloniensis.

§ Saba Malaspina.

|| Regesta.

¶ Salimbene. Natives of Rome addressed the Pope in this style.

CHAP.
IX.

Tuscany, the Frenchman from Lorraine, the German from Thuringia, find that Caesar understands them all. With Latin, of course, he is familiar.* Very different is Frederick from his Northern grandire, who could speak nothing but German and very bad Latin.

Troubadour, Crusader, Lawgiver; German by blood, Italian by birth, Arab by training; the pupil, the tyrant, the victim of Rome; accused by the world of being by turns a Catholic persecutor, a Mohammedan convert, an Infidel freethinker; such is Frederick the Second. His character has been sketched for us by two men of opposite politics, Salimbene the Gueff and Jansilla the Ghibeline, both of whom knew him well. Each does justice to the wonderful genius of the Emperor, and to the rapid development of the arts and commerce under his fostering care. But all is not fair, whatever appearances may be. Every generation of the Hohenstaufen Kaisers seemed to add a vice to the shame of their house. Cruelty is the one dark stain in the character of Barbarossa; cruelty and treachery mar the soaring genius of Henry the Sixth; cruelty, treachery, and lewdness are the three blots that can never be wiped away from the memory of Frederick the Second. He has painted his likeness with his own hand. His Registers with their varied entries throw more light upon his nature than any panegyrics or diatribes can do. One example will be enough. If he wishes to get an impregnable castle into his hands, he thus writes to his general:—‘Pretend some business, and warily call the Castellan to you; seize on him

* Malaspini.

if you can, and keep him till he cause the castle to be surrendered to you.* The Emperor's chief aim in these transactions was to avoid scandal. 'Give good words,' he writes to another agent, 'and employ clandestine theft, if necessary ; but be sure of your ground at the outset, so that you may not have to abandon the undertaking.' Frederick was very particular in the choice of his agents, usually preferring those of low birth, whether Christians or Saracens. They were disgraced without scruple, if they chanced to transgress, and their wealth flowed into their master's coffers. 'I have never bred a hog without having its lard,' is one of the sentiments put into the Emperor's mouth.†

Frederick's cruelty is indisputable. His leaden copes, which weighed down the victims of his wrath until death came to the rescue, were long the talk of Italy and are mentioned by Dante. In this way died Count Regnier of Manente, who harassed Sicily during Frederick's early years, and in whom Pope Honorius felt so warm an interest.‡ It was an age of horrible punishments, when the Church herself took the lead in torturing, mangling, and roasting the bodies of mankind. Treachery as well as cruelty might easily be learnt from her preaching and practice ; but there is another vice which is Frederick's own. He may be compared to one of the old war-like Caliphs or Sultans, with all the best and all the worst points in the character of Lorenzo de' Medici superadded. This Oriental likeness is especially seen in his treatment of women. He might sing their

* Regesta.

† Salimbene.

‡ French Chronicle, quoted by Bréholles for 1220.

emies, the scribes of Rome, fastened upon this weak side of his character. It was bad enough, but they aggravated the scandal. If we put faith in the statements made by Gregory's biographer, by Albert von Beham, by Nicholas of Corby, we must believe that Frederick was the greatest of monsters, a compound between Sardanapalus and Nero; that he shut his consorts in dark prisons until he killed them; that he enforced prostitution on Christian virgins and coated over their agonies with fiendish glee; that he sold his female subjects to the Saracens; that he was defiled by the foulest of all vices.* The historian, who makes truth his aim, must draw the line somewhere. I think we may admit as proved those accusations of vice which the Popes, no male rudes, put forth against Frederick in the face of the world. But the writings of private ecclesiastics, unconfirmed by the seal of Rome, must be viewed with the greatest suspicion. We are not content to take the measure of Hannibal's character from Livy. We know how the Cavaliers have painted Cromwell, how the Legitimists have painted Buonaparte. The hatred, which the Friars bore to the Hohenstaufen, was theological as well as political.

Frederick was the father of a numerous offspring. His eldest sons, born in wedlock, were Henry and Conrad, each of whom in turn became King of the Romans. His third Empress bore him two children, Margaret and a second Henry. But Frederick's

* De Curbio says: 'Et non contentus juvenculis mulieribus et puellis, tanquam scelestus infami vitio laborabat: quod quidem turpe est cogitare, turpius dicere, turpissimum exercere. Nam ipsum peccatum quasi Sodomæ apertè prædicabat nec penitus occultabat.'

his sixth daughter, Blanche fleur, the last survivor of
 this numerous tribe, died a nun at Montargis in
 278.*

CHAP.
 IX.

After this attempt to describe the Court of Apulia, the great central figure must once more occupy our attention. Frederick was of middling height, well made, rather fat, with slightly red hair, the heritage of the Hohenstaufens.† His face, with a youth unmistakeably sensual, may be seen upon his seals and coins.‡ His handsome brow confirms the accounts given by all the Italian chroniclers of his knowledge, so wonderful for his age. Palermo, the cradle of his youth, was the point where the Latin, the Greek, the Jewish, and the Arabic elements all met together. Much knowledge he undoubtedly gained from these various sources; but he found it a dangerous possession. His religious belief, so it was ever rumoured, was of the most perverse hue. In vain did he found masses, attend ceremonies, bestow yearly wax candles upon saints, and issue persecuting edicts; Rome still held his orthodoxy in suspicion. Yet even the partizans of Rome could not withhold their meed of praise from one who was the marvel of that marvellous century, who was regarded by some of his contemporaries as Antichrist, by others almost as an incarnation of the Deity. Modern students, who are not so dazzled by Frederick's brilliant qualities as to forget his many faults, may adopt almost word for word the opinion entertained

* See Bréholles' Preface, 211.

† Salimbene. Ric. Ferrariensis.

‡ The finest coin I ever saw of Frederick's was a golden one in the museum at Treves.

CHAPTER X.

A.D. 1231—A.D. 1236.

'Custode rerum Cæsare, non furor
Civilis aut vis eximet otium.'—HORACE.

First thing recorded of Frederick in 1231 is the renewal of the famous edict of 1220; he summoned Stephen of Anglone, who had been much engaged in public affairs, to give notice that all suits must be presented to the Court by a certain date, on pain of a view to their future validity. The men of Anglone, who would seem to have fled into the mountains, were commanded to send back their wives and children by a specified time, and no more castles were allowed to be built.* The Pope wrote to express his approbation of Frederick's conduct in the work of recovering Palestine, but exhorted him to deal gently with the two chief lords of that land, the Temple and the Hospital. The Pope warned the Emperor to fulfil his promise of providing sureties within the allotted eight months. The Pope's letters, with a view to this object, went to every part of Germany and Upper Italy. In February a special Court was held at Taranto. Count von Arnstein, who had replaced Raynald of Brakel as Frederick's Vicar in Italy, brought a flourishing state of the loyalty of Siena, to which city the

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X.

1231-1236.

* Ric. San Germano.

of the Southern heretics, Gregory was equally attentive to the state of the Apulian clergy, who have never been in much repute for genius or holiness. One man had gained the See of Potenza by simony, and had robbed a neighbouring Church; the Archbishops of Bari and Trani were to send him to Rome to explain his conduct. Gregory, as his letters prove, suspended the Archbishop of Benevento for having been lax in examining a suffragan Bishop, and bade him be more careful in future.*

Von Salza had informed the Papacy of his invitation to Culm. He returned in April from Germany, where his Order was taking fast root; the Duke of Masovia had already called seven of the brethren to his aid.† It might have been thought that this Transalpine mission would have caused a separation between Brother Hermann and his Kaiser; but such was not the case; the friends usually contrived to meet at least once a year, and the good Knight was employed by Frederick, as before, on embassies for the good of Christendom. The persecuted Hospitallers professed themselves ready to place their fiefs in Hermann's hands, until umpires should decide the dispute between their Order and the Emperor; an offer which the Pope eagerly embraced. Frederick, who was at Melfi in May, made little difficulty in transferring an Abbey of the Benedictines, disgraced by the evil life of its inmates, to the Cistercians, for which he received the thanks of the General Chapter of the White Order. He now broke with two old friends. Raynald, the Viceroy of 1228,

* Regesta of Gregory for 1231, Middlehill MSS.

† Raynaldus.

was sent by the Pope to rescue the tottering Latin Empire on the Bosphorus, whither the gallant old Champenois sailed with an army from Venice. Frederick now found himself obliged to raise the siege of Antrodoco, which was held by Berthold.* He sent Von Salza into Lombardy, to pave the way for the Imperial Diet at Ravenna, to be held later in the year. The Pope wrote to Frederick, exhorting him to put on the spirit of charity. The correspondence between the now reconciled friends was very brisk. In March, the King of Sicily had asked the Papacy to restrain the men of Ascoli in the March, who had seized on some of his fiefs. Gregory in return complained that the King's Justiciaries were throwing priests into prison and robbing men; 'Our faithful people can scarcely breathe; the Justiciaries pretend that they are offended, in order to provoke you to offence, if they can. We have enjoined the Bishop of Beauvais, the Ruler of the Anconitan March and of the Duchy of Spoleto, to correct what has been done to your prejudice; do you act in the like way with your Justiciaries.'

Affairs in Palestine also required constant watching. In February, Gregory had written to the Grand Master of the Templars, rebuking him for breaking the Truce which Frederick had made with the Saracens, and for acting against the will of Frederick's Bailiff. He remarks with truth, that in consequence of this piece of folly the King of the Persians will find the road to conquest more easy. In August, the Pope once more writes to Frederick: 'You say

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* Ric. San Germano.

if it went ill with him, let him look to himself.*
 The Marquess of Este and the Count of San Bonifazio took the lead at Bologna, the head-quarters of the League. Frederick long afterwards affirmed that the Pope himself had been the mainspring of this warlike movement, and that Gregory had sent both messengers and letters to the Lombards, as some men could bear witness, who were on the side of the rebels in 1231.†

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In October, Frederick sent Rinaldo of Acquaviva to the aid of Viterbo, which was now beginning a long war with Rome; the Apostolic city resolved to tax her Churches for the struggle.‡ In November the Emperor left Apulia after completing his legislative toils, and took the road to Fano. Here he confirmed the new Count of Gueldres in the possessions enjoyed by the father of this noble, investing Aylhard, one of the favourite Teutonic Order, as the representative of the absent Count. Frederick then arrived at Ravenna, where he was probably surrounded by the Traversari, Tignosi, Manardi, and Anastagi, the fine old houses of the country, whose places were usurped seventy years latter by beggarly upstarts, 'bastard slips of old Romagna's line.'§

His letters to the various cities of Italy had already gone forth, commanding the attendance of their deputies at the Diet to be held at Ravenna on the feast of All Souls. He declared that he had convoked this assembly by the advice of the Papacy, that his son King Henry and all the Princes of Germany were expected, that the object in view was to appease

* Gal. Flamma.

† Ric. San Germano.

‡ See his letters for 1239.

§ Dante, Purg. XIV.



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a zealous Ghibelline, besides Berard the Archbishop of Palermo, Frederick's best friend in the Kingdom. Many Lombard and German Prelates were also present; among them was Siffrid, the youthful Bishop of Ratisbon, who was cousin to the Archbishop of Mayence, and who this year became Chancellor of the Empire.* The Duke of Saxony, the Duke of Carinthia, the Duke of Meran, the Landgrave of Thuringia, the Count of Nassau, Gebhard von Arnstein, the Legate of the Empire in Italy, Werner von Bollanden, and Godfrey von Hohenlohe, were also at their Kaiser's side, and saw him wear the Crown of the Empire on Christmas-day. But Frederick missed many of those who had welcomed him to Germany in the famous 1212. His old friends, the King of Bohemia and the chivalrous Duke of Austria, had both died in 1230. Another ancient partizan, the Duke of Bavaria, a hero of Damietta, had been murdered in 1231 by a madman; a foolish report was spread that Frederick had instigated the crime, and had fetched an assassin from the East; the Old Man of the Mountain was said to have been the Kaiser's accomplice in this ruffianly deed.† There was a new Landgrave of Thuringia, a new Archbishop of Mayence, the nephew and namesake of that Siffrid who had crowned Frederick, and a new Archbishop of Cologne in the room of the deeply-mourned Engelbert. A new race of men was springing up in Germany, who had borne no part in the great transfer of the Empire from the Guelfs to the Hohenstaufens, and who grumbled because the edicts, which regulated the Fatherland, were

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* Alb. Trium Fontium.

† Godefrid. Colon.



office was over, she would for the future elect no one displeasing to the Emperor. Nothing was settled at Ravenna ; the Genoese went home, where Frederick's ordinance caused great tumults. He despatched John of Reggio, a Judge of his High Court, with letters to Genoa ; the envoy gave them fair words in the Town Council, but repeated the harsh edict. Frederick would not be defied ; in the next year, 1232, he sent orders into Sicily to seize the Genoese and their wares throughout the Kingdom. Genoa was in an uproar ; one party wished to join the Lombard League. The State equipped a fleet to protect her children at Tunis, whose expulsion Frederick had enjoined. This fleet ruled the sea ; the Emperor's Marshal had to fly to Tyre with a few men, the rest of his army being either killed or taken. Frederick now took a milder course ; he despatched Thaddeus of Sessa and the Judge of Bari to Genoa with letters, and bade the burghers rejoice at his victories in the East. If they would only send envoys to him, he would release all the Genoese in his hands, together with their goods. Two envoys were accordingly sent, and were well received ; they procured letters to the authorities throughout the Kingdom for the attainment of their object. Frederick talked of his Imperial mildness, saying that he did not disdain to temper justice with clemency, and that his Highness would be placable for the future. He hoped that Genoa would obey him, even as she had obeyed his predecessors in the Empire.*

Other towns of Northern Italy were found by the Emperor more compliant than Genoa. On the 14th

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* Bart. Scriba, Ann. Genuen.

the Empire ; they were debarred from the learned professions ; their goods were confiscated ; all persons suspected by the Church were held guilty until they had proved their innocence, which they were bound to do. In this hideous fashion the usual rule of justice was reversed, which considers a man innocent until his guilt be proved, whoever his accuser may be. All Podestas and Temporal Lords were to help in the work of rooting out the heretics, whose houses were to be destroyed. A fresh decree was issued from Ravenna in March. Inquisitors were appointed by the Apostolic See, and the heretics were denied their common-law rights throughout Germany, which boasted of its having been hitherto always sound in the faith. ‘The Dominicans of Wurzburg,’ says the Emperor, ‘are our deputies in this matter ; they are to be protected from all opponents ; there exists in Germany a new and unwonted infirmity of heretical wickedness.’ Even children were now punished if they did not come forward to inform against their own parents.

These edicts are in the spirit of the time ; the Church was infallible, and whoever dared to dissent from her decrees was a heretic, out of the pale of the law, food for fire, to be knocked on the head like a wolf, wherever taken. The first half of the Thirteenth century was the golden age of persecution, of that spirit of religious bigotry which seems likely to disgrace human nature, as long as the world shall last. This foul spirit is of very early date in the history of Christianity ; it was rebuked by our Lord Himself, though mankind have chosen to take pattern rather by the savage request of His two disciples than by the mild words of reproof used to restrain the pair.

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Subjects, to whom Frederick had written in terms of **firm** approval; yet he was now forced to throw **them**, as well as the hated Italian Paterines, into the **bargain** of persecution struck with the Church.

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One other edict was issued from Ravenna. **Frederick** made a decree in favour of his liegeman, the **Count** of Provence: 'Vassals ought to obey their **lords**; this law is to be in force for ever in Provence and Forcalquier; none of the Count's feudatories are **to stir up** war against, or to attack the said Count.' The legislation of Ravenna was all in favour of the **high** aristocracy, whom the Emperor looked upon as **the best** guardians of peace and order. Lombardy **was** swayed by democracy, and was a chaos of war and turmoil.

In the month of February, Cardinal Otho and the **Bishop** of Palestrina had gone to Bologna as the **Pope's** Legates, to enforce peace in the North. They **seem** to have effected their object by the beginning of **March**, when they sought Frederick at Ravenna. He **had** no longing to behold either of them; the Bishop **he** always distrusted; the Cardinal had done his **best** to raise Germany against its Sovereign a few **years** before. Hearing of their approach, Frederick **rode off** in the afternoon of the 7th of March with a **small** body of knights, and afterwards sailed up the Po to Loreto. Here he found the Venetian envoys, of whom he asked leave to visit the shrine of St. Mark with his retinue. This request being granted, he set out on his voyage.* He afterwards complained bitterly of his having been driven by the disobedient Lombards to embark on the stormy Adriatic in the

* Chron. Placentinum.

Empire were pledged in the most reckless way, order was no longer maintained, and the roads were not safe for travellers.* Henry was a bad son; it was rumoured that in the previous year he had invited envoys from Milan to his Court and had made a league with them against his own father. The cause of this unnatural conduct is said to have been jealousy of his half-brother Conrad.† Frederick seems to have demanded security for Henry's future good behaviour, as in April we find the Prelates and Princes of the Empire issuing the following declaration. 'The throne of the Empire is set upon our shoulders, and we derive some reflection from its brilliancy. At Cividale di Friuli, King Henry begged us to mediate with his father on his behalf: we therefore make oath, that if the King does not keep the Capitularies, which he swore to his father that he would keep, we will be at the Kaiser's bidding, and we shall be absolved from our oath to Henry. This we swear at the urgent request of the King.' Henry himself wrote to the Pope on the same subject, stating that he had of his own free will engaged to execute his father's commands, to honour his father's friends, to do nothing in prejudice of his father's rights; should he fail in his promise, he was to become an excommunicated man. In return for this open acknowledgment, the Emperor allowed his son a more complete authority over Germany; which turned out to be a most impolitic step.‡

Frederick was now surrounded not only by those

* Ann. Argentin.

† Mon. Patavinus.

‡ See Henry's letters for this year, 1232.

our lands; no guilty men are to be received into our cities; if any such be there, they are to be driven forth; the coinage is not to be debased; and our towns are not to extend their jurisdictions.* As usual, the burghers are curbed, and the Princes and Prelates are protected by the Kaiser.

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From Udine an edict in the same spirit was put forth against Worms, one of the free cities of the Empire, which was rising slowly but surely to importance; leave was granted to its Bishop to pull down the town hall, the site of which was to be handed over to the Church. This decree is a type of the spirit of Frederick's political system at this time. The Bishop of Worms is described as a wise man, who had been refused money by his flock for his journey to Ravenna; they preferred to send their own envoys on a bootless errand, for the Kaiser, hearing from the Bishop that all Episcopal authority was at an end, declared that such a state of things must last no longer. This decree, and also an excommunication, was launched at the high-spirited burghers, who destroyed their beloved town hall, one of the finest buildings in Germany, rather than allow it to become a standing menace to their liberties in the hands of the Bishop.* On the other hand, the Count of Holstein obtained a confirmation of the privileges of the new city of Hamburg. The Emperor and his Court now removed to Pordenone. The Bishop of Worms was here protected against another enemy, the young Duke of Bavaria, who had refused to appear at the Diet; one German Count was placed under the ban for robbing the Bishop of Ratisbon,

* Ann. Wormat.

derwent as much at his hands as any of his enemies. He is accused of foul outrages upon the honour of women, and of dire cruelty towards his vassals. He made no difference between the convent and the castle. Unable to remain at peace, he was always embroiled with his neighbours in Germany, Hungary, or Bohemia. The Kaiser himself was treated by him with very scanty reverence; indeed Frederick, usually so courteous to his German Princes, was provoked into calling the Austrian, 'that mad youngster.' The Duke had refused to attend the Diet at Ravenna, or even to appear at Aquileia; the Emperor, making allowance for his vassal's boyish years, and being resolved to become acquainted with him, turned out of his road to visit Pordenone, which belonged to the Duke. The young mutineer, who could not well refuse to do the honours on his own lands, at length condescended to meet his Kaiser. Frederick received him most graciously, gave him fine horses and other presents, and promised him 8000 marks in order to solder up a quarrel which had been fastened upon him by King Henry, respecting the dowry of Margaret, the Duke's sister.*

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Frederick had contemptuously turned his back on the Pope's Legates at Ravenna, much to their discomposure; they had however been active in enforcing peace throughout Lombardy, the Trevisan March, and Romagna, and envoys had been sent for that purpose to Padua. He had expressed his displeasure at his enemies having frustrated his Diet at Ravenna, which had been convoked for the aid of the Holy Land and for the good of the Empire.

* See Frederick's letters in 1236.

true.* This youth began his career soon after the untoward Diet of Cremona in 1226. He entered Verona at the head of the Ghibellines, to the cry of 'Long live Cavalier Eccelin!' The city was for many years the prize for which he and the Count of San Bonifazio, the local head of the Guelfs, were struggling.† Alberic in the mean time became Podesta of Vicenza. These men were so eager to bid for any support, that they were actually ready to denounce their own father, Eccelin the Monk, to the Inquisition, on the old man's becoming suspected of a leaning towards the Paterines.‡ He died, leaving his estates as already described; and his two sons, Eccelin and Alberic, fought against their many surrounding foes, the Marquis of Este, the Count of San Bonifazio, and the Lords of Camino. The brothers were in close alliance with Salinguerra, an aged warrior who had married one of their sisters, and who had driven the house of Este from Ferrara.

Eccelin and Alberic were very different in character. The former was bold, clear-sighted in politics, and staunch to the side he had chosen as his own. He had a most commanding intellect, and his counsels, whether in war or peace, were sure not to be slighted. He was a first-rate soldier, and could overawe his enemies with a glance; he was however superstitious, as many found to their cost.§ Covetous of power, he was unscrupulous as to the means by which it was won or kept. His merciless cruelty and his callousness to human suffering brand him as an enemy to mankind. Women quite as much as

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* Gerard Maurisius.

† Raynaldus for 1231.

‡ Rolandini.

§ Antonio Godi.

unless they could gain support from some strong hand. They knew that the Emperor was now not very far from Treviso, at Pordenone, and thither Alberic hastened. He met with a most gracious reception, and told Frederick that Verona was ready to acknowledge the Emperor as her master, having already under Eccelin's guidance stood a siege from the Count of San Bonifazio and the Lombards. Frederick was overjoyed, knowing the importance of Verona, and remembering how her strong walls had barred an inroad of his German allies in 1226, when she was in the hands of the Lombard League. But he prudently made answer to Alberic; 'It is well; still I have not men enough with me to hold Verona. It would bring the greatest shame on our Imperial Majesty, if our subjects were to besiege us there, or to withstand us. But it is our pleasure, that you defend the city up to a certain time, and then we will come with such a fearful host of men, that none will dare to withstand us.' Alberic promised this for himself and his brother, and Frederick, taking ship for Apulia, sailed from Aquileia southwards.*

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While the Emperor is on his way back to his favourite Kingdom, it will be convenient to look forward a little, and to give a sketch of the affairs of Lombardy and the Trevisan March during the three years which followed his visit. Disunion was the curse of Northern Italy. Every city was ranged against its neighbour; scarcely a year passed, without local wars waged with the bitterest rancour. The Church now took up the cause of peace and order; in the year after Frederick quitted the North, a famous Domi-

* Gerard Maurisius.

Bolognese in vain besought the General of the
 hing Order to allow John to remain with them. CHAP.
 as made Legate of the Pope in Lombardy and X.
 March. He visited the great city of Padua, 1231-1236.
 the magistrates received him with due honours.
 nfluence soon spread over the whole of the
 san March ; he altered the statutes of the cities
 pleasure, and threw open the prison doors ;
 and burghers alike crowded to hear the holy
 nican ; even the Lords of Romano inclined, or
 d to incline, their minds to peace. After
 hing at most of the large cities, John of
 za gathered an assembly on the plains of
 ura, near Verona. All the towns between
 e and Brescia, Treviso and Parma, were there
 sented. The great nobles and the Bishops,
 g them the Patriarch of Aquileia, hung upon the
 f the Preaching friar. He took for his text the
 s, ' Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto
 ' and on this noble theme he thundered from a
 pulpit, in a voice miraculously loud. He dic-
 a treaty of peace which is still extant, and
 med it by bestowing the daughter of Alberic
 omano on the son of Azzo of Este. Thus
 ellite and Guelf were united by a happy tie ;
 his wedding, which took place before the bride-
 n was twelve years old, wrought an unexpected
 ge in Italian politics six years later. John was

Modo salta, modo salta,
 Qui cœlorum petis alta !
 Saltat iste, saltat ille,
 Resaltant cohortes mille,
 Saltat chorus Dominarum,
 Saltat Dux Venetiarum.'

statue on horseback may yet be seen outside the Broletto at Milan, with a Latin line underneath of terrible import.* In 1234, the Milanese offered a most daring insult to Frederick. He was sending an elephant, with several camels and dromedaries, to his loyal Cremona. The rivals of this city came forth with their Carroccio to seize the strange animals, but could only succeed in capturing the keepers. One of Frederick's bitterest enemies at Milan was Henry of Monza, a warlike hero of very great personal strength, surnamed the Fire-kindler,† and a devoted adherent of the Della Torre party. He and others established in this year the Company of the Brave, a band sworn to combat Frederick.‡ There was evidently little hope of peace continuing in Italy, whatever efforts the Pope or his Legates might make. But the crowning outrage was yet to come.

King Henry had long before this time forgotten all the promises of amendment made by him to his father when they met at Friuli. He received at his Court men who had been banished by the Emperor, such as Raynald the Duke of Spoleto; he complained of his father, and strove to gather adherents from any quarter. He made advances to the Duke of Austria and to the King of France, but his grand aim was to get the German cities on his side, these having always been slighted by the Kaiser. Strasburg, most of the towns on the Upper Rhine, and even Spire, declared for him; two or three Prelates also took the oath of allegiance to the ill-fated Prince. Not finding as many partizans as he could

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* Qui solium struxit, Catharos ut debuit uxit.

† Mettefuoco.

‡ Ann. Mediolan.

the Patriarch of having been at the bottom of the whole business; Gregory accordingly recalled Gerold, and stripped him of his Legateship.* 'We wonder,' the Pope says, 'what has induced men to rebel against our beloved son Frederick! His child at least is guiltless. Let not the little flock of the Lord break out into strife; if you need enemies, there are Saracens at hand.' The Knights of the Hospital were entrusted with the task of quelling these disturbances in the Holy Land. Another military Brotherhood, which was achieving the conquest of Courland and Livonia under the gallant Volquin, obtained a Charter from Frederick about this time, to which Von Salza was witness. The affairs of the Kingdom were now becoming more settled. The Count of Acerra was pressing on the siege of Antrodoco at the head of a large body of troops, gathered from the different parts of the realm. Landon, the Archbishop of Reggio, a most loyal Churchman, was translated to Messina. Roger of Aquila, a very old enemy of Frederick's, died this year, and was buried in the garb of a monk in the Monastery of Fossa Nuova. His lands, lying near Fondi, were instantly seized by the Crown, but Itri, a spot in the mountains well known to travellers, held out as long as possible for his son Geoffrey, who fled to the Pope. Gregory was at this time upon unusually friendly terms with Frederick, of whose help he stood much in need, owing to the war that had broken out between Rome and Viterbo. Each of the two potentates endeavoured to aid the other. A Papal chaplain was sent to accomplish the surrender of Gaeta, but this

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* Raynaldus.

shall pay 200 pounds of gold, one half to our Treasury, the other half to the sufferer.' The Archbishops of Palermo and Capua were among the witnesses to this Charter. 'I got it,' Gerard tells us, 'without orders, and at my own cost, and I am still waiting for my reward.' Frederick's courtiers must have been highly amused at the lawyer's officiousness and self-importance, supposing that he ever contrived to make his way into the ante-chamber. At the same time, Frederick wrote to the Bishops of Padua, Vicenza, and Treviso, on behalf of the Lords of Romano.

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In January, 1233, he summoned all the Barons of his Realm to Policoro, where they were to assemble by the 1st of February for an expedition against the rebellious island of Sicily. Lucera and Naples were further strengthened, and new Castles were built at Trani, Bari, and Brindisi; but the walls of Troja were pulled down. The Emperor passed the two first months of the year on the Eastern coast. His affairs were prospering; the captive Raynald was led up to the walls of Antrodoco, in order to induce his brother Berthold to surrender the town. It was given up in July, after having stood out for two years; and both Raynald and Berthold were allowed to quit the Kingdom, where they had once held high command. Frederick was at Policoro in March, when he made over the city of Gaeta, still in rebellion, and also some nobles who had taken the side of the Church, to his son Conrad, then a child of five years old. Later in the year, Gaeta returned to her allegiance, and her citizens, at the request of the Pope, took the oath to Frederick and Conrad. Her crimes had been great; she was therefore

had been unable to come himself, he might at least have sent his generals.

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In the previous year, a sedition had broken out at Messina, the townsmen taking offence at the appointment of Richard of Montenero to the office of Justiciary for Sicily, and accusing him of oppression. This movement seems to have become general throughout the Eastern parts of the island. Frederick flew to the point of danger, eager to crush the mischief while still in the bud; at the same time he excused himself to the Papacy, by saying that he was unwilling to lose his noble island. Having no hope of succour from Apulia, Gregory made peace with his rebellious Romans without consulting Frederick, who had declared war against them at the Pope's instigation; this was a breach of the law of nations of which the Emperor afterwards complained.*

Frederick entered Messina in April at the head of his troops. He assembled the unruly burghers in the Cathedral, and there pardoned them all, high and low. But a loathsome act of mingled cruelty and treachery was to follow this seeming clemency. After a few days the Emperor, 'not treading in the footsteps of the great Princes whose words are never recalled,' wreaked his vengeance upon the revolters.† Some were happy enough to escape, others lost their goods; the Archbishop of Palermo obtained the vineyard of the traitor Temonerio. Many were sentenced to a cruel death; Martin Mallone, the ring-leader of the sedition, and several of his accomplices were hanged or burnt alive. Syracuse and Nicosia underwent a similar punishment.‡ Two months

* See the letters for 1239. † Chron. breve Vaticanum.

‡ Ric. San Germano. Ap. ad Malaterram.

engaged to furnish 500 knights for the next Crusade. The Emperor, on being asked to send letters confirmatory of his desire for peace, promised to despatch Hermann von Salza, the only man who could be trusted with the business. Writing in confidence to the Bishop of Ostia, Frederick complained of this treaty with the Lombards, since his Holiness had been strangely indifferent to the honour of the Empire. If the Pope's award were made public, Kings and Princes would in future be unwilling to make him their umpire. The Emperor's correspondent, a mild Prelate, could do nothing for him, and Gregory excused the Lombards for not having sent their 400 knights according to agreement in aid of the former Crusade, on the ground that Frederick had not sailed at the appointed time. In August, the Emperor wrote from Castro Giovanni, in Sicily, engaging to keep the peace with the Lombards, according to the conditions dictated by the Pope. The Count of Acerra was stationed at Cremona, to watch over his master's interests in the North.

Frederick paid a visit to Palermo, which had evidently not been drawn into the late rebellion. He ordered his Justiciaries to hear the complaints of the clergy, and to do whatever justice demanded on their behalf, saying that he would provide for the correction of abuses. Some of the Prelates appeared at Teano, but none of them made any complaints. Their influence over their flocks seemed to be waning; a letter was sent to the Bishop of Caserta concerning the Paterines and their abettors, who were in great force in the neighbourhood of Naples; all heretics were to be doomed to the stake.* After a visit to

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* Ric. San Germano.

cept at Rome. Even Innocent the Third, the conqueror of the world, had been unable to keep his own diocese in proper subjection. The Author of Gregory's life calls Rome 'a city of raging beasts.' That Pope had taken refuge at Rieti, where Frederick, unsummoned, sought an interview with him in May, bringing the child Conrad, whom he deigned to tender as a hostage. At this time, Conrad was the only son left to comfort the Emperor, for the offences of Henry were glaring, in spite of all the promises of amendment made at the late Diet in Northern Italy. The Emperor was most anxious to keep the Pope steady to his side, which was the chief cause of the present interview. He repeatedly sat at the Papal table. He called on God to witness the sincerity of his desire for a complete union between himself and the Church. He thought, as he afterwards said, that Fortune had smiled upon him, in giving him this opportunity of proving his steady devotion. Both Gregory and his courtiers made unbounded professions of good-will towards the Emperor; the little Conrad was sent back to the Kingdom; a hostage was not needed. Frederick was urged to marry again, for the sake of his spiritual and temporal interests, and the Pope promised to find a suitable bride. The Emperor now, after having gained a favourable hearing, explained the cause of his strife with the Lombards, and of another quarrel he had with the Anconitans. Feeling sure of success in his suit, he disbursed large sums of money from his treasury, more than 100,000 marks of silver, as he himself said; he gathered a large army of Italians and Germans, though the Transalpines were only allowed to pass through jealous Lombardy after letters to that

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months.* But the Emperor scandalized the Church party by interchanging civilities with the enemy, and by his unseasonable amusements. 'He joined himself to the foe, bestowing gifts and honours on the Romans, following the chase, and exchanging armies for dogs, the sceptre for hunting spears; instead of attacking the enemy, he practised his triumphant eagles in catching birds; he gave the Romans a certain day for evacuating Rispampani, which he saved from ruin; he was thought not to have ridden, but to have flown, back to his Kingdom.' Thus writes Gregory's Biographer; the Pope himself afterwards asserted that he possessed written proofs of Frederick's treachery. He accused the Emperor of having shamelessly fled before the enemies of the Church at Viterbo, and of having neglected to relieve one of his own garrisons, besieged before his very eyes. There was another quarrel between the Pope and Emperor. When at Rieti, Gregory had refused to give up to his ally Citta di Castello. This was against the advice of his brethren, and against terms before arranged; but the Pope justified his refusal, saying that he had only received 50,000 marks for the town. 'See how this most Holy Father of ours loved us!' cried Frederick ironically some time afterwards. The burghers of the town in question took the matter into their own hands; they broke their oath of fealty to the Church, and gave themselves up to Frederick. Gregory asserted on the other hand, that he had been always ready to do justice and to listen to the advice of his brethren; but that the Emperor's envoys had declined a trial.†

* Ric. San Germano.

† See the letters for 1239.

wrote to Frederick; 'The men of Acre will now submit to Richard your Marshal in the name of yourself and your son, lay down their arms, and depose the Captains they have elected; a sentence of excommunication will be proclaimed against them. We think that there is danger of heresy; we have therefore relaxed the interdict.' These men of Acre appear to have set up a republic and to have forsworn both Frederick and Conrad. They placed themselves wholly in Gregory's hands; he went further and wished to make a truce between the Emperor and the King of Cyprus, who had not forgotten 1228. The success of the approaching Crusade was much endangered by these constant bickerings.*

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While the Emperor was hastening back to his own Kingdom, the Pope withdrew in the other direction to Perugia. He kept some German nobles at Viterbo, and these chiefs routed the Roman army with great slaughter, after it had revictualled Rispampani. Many of the conquerors however fell; Conrad von Veingen, who had helped Frederick in suppressing the Sicilian revolt, was among those slain.† The whole of Sabina was reduced, but Gregory was fully alive to the dangerous temper of the Romans; they wished, as he said, to raise a republic on the ruins of the Church. He therefore wrote to the Kings of Spain and the Duke of Austria, who sent him large sums of money. All the Princes of Germany were invited to lead their troops to the aid of the Pope in March, and to serve for three months. The Archbishop of Rouen was summoned from France, and the old Bishop of Winchester from England; each

* Raynaldus.

† Godefr. Colon.

to do the like. We held a grand Diet at Frankfort, whither such a crowd of Princes came as had not been seen for a very long time.* By the advice of these Princes we ordered the destruction of certain Castles where lawless deeds were done. Wicked men took occasion of this to sow discord between ourselves and our father, who, alas! lent his ear to them too easily, wrote to us most harshly, and withdrew from us the privileges he had long allowed us to enjoy. He commanded us to repair all the damage we had done to the Hohenlohe brethren, and he forced us, much to our discredit, to give up the hostages we had taken from the Duke of Bavaria and the Margrave of Baden. Our father lends himself to the plots of any nobles and vassals who seek his Court, and he grants them letters directed against us. He has now begun to threaten that he will not receive our letters, if we are in the least neglectful of his orders. He has procured our excommunication from the Apostolic See, without our having been cited or convicted of any wrong. We have now sent the Archbishop of Mayence and the Bishop of Bamberg, the noblest envoys whom we could employ, to the feet of the Kaiser, begging him to restore us to his favour. We call upon you and upon all the Princes of the Empire to help us. God the Searcher of all hearts knows, and the Princes of Germany know, that from the time that we could distinguish between good and evil, we have done nothing to displease our father.'

In this letter Henry takes care not to mention the agreement made at Cividale in 1232. He is also silent as to another ground of complaint which his father

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* This was held in February, 1234.

on the 15th of this month, the Emperor gave full powers to his trusty Peter de Vinea to act as his proxy at Westminster. The document opens with an eulogium on the wedded state and its advantages. Frederick then goes on thus ; ‘ After various negotiations carried on for us by the Pope, we have sent Master Peter de Vinea, the Judge of our High Court, whose loyalty and industry have deservedly endeared him to us, to ask the Princess Isabella of England in marriage, and we promise that we will treat her with Imperial honour. Henry, the Archbishop of Cologne, is also joined in this commission. Peter de Vinea is to assign to the bride as her dowry the Valley of Mazara with all its appurtenances, and the honour of Monte San Angelo ; for other Queens of Sicily have had, according to custom, both of these districts as a dowry. This is to be assigned to her on her wedding-day. Brother George de Merk is also our special Envoy ; he is not to be content with less than 30,000 marks of silver, as the dowry of the Princess.’*

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On the 9th of December, Frederick took the Pope’s advice on his English project. He says ; ‘ We are sending Peter de Vinea to England on the business of our wedding ; and a Prelate, whomsoever Hermann von Salza may judge fit for the duty, is to bring the Princess to us. In case our future distance be an obstacle, we think that you ought to regulate the dowry, and the place where it is to be paid, for perhaps the King of England may not now be able to pay. We leave to you the sum, and the time at

* She had been proposed, ten years before, as the bride of Frederick’s son.

were to present themselves at Rome within two months' time. The Bishops of Augsburg and Wurzburg, and the Abbot of Fulda, were among the accused. Certain Canons, who had gone to Milan on Henry's behalf, were suspended and summoned to appear before the Pope. Surely a great improvement had been wrought in the morals of the Lateran, within a century or thereabouts. Hildebrand and his successors had not been ashamed to harass that luckless Emperor, Henry IV., by stirring up against him his own sons. But in the present case Pope Gregory refuses to abrogate the Fifth Commandment; more than this, he gives his hearty co-operation to the wronged father. The Roman annalist says; 'Frederick set forth, as if he had been the Legate of the Church, strengthened by letters from her.'* No tampering with the young King can be laid to the charge of the Pope; in later years the Emperor, when raking up against Gregory every old score he can call to mind, abstains from accusing his enemy of having abetted Henry.

Frederick prepared the way for his appearance in Germany by a circular addressed to the Princes. He reminded them of their tried loyalty to himself, and of the obligations by which his son was bound to the Germans. But the youth, in spite of his father's repeated injunctions to the contrary, had begun to lay hands on the Princes, whom Frederick calls the pupils of his eyes. Henry had been unmindful of the oath taken at Friuli, had feared neither God nor man, and had forced his father's loyal subjects to give him hostages. The Emperor had

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* Gregorii Vita.

Alps near Canale, he was at Neumarkt in Styria, where he was attended by three German Prelates, the Duke of Carinthia and the Duke of Lorraine, besides Von Salza. He had come without an army, trusting to the simple loyalty of the German Princes and to their attachment to the Kaiser; he calculated aright. One exception there was however to the prevalent good feeling. The young Duke of Austria met Frederick at Neumarkt, and with great shamelessness requested a loan of 2000 marks for his wars with Hungary and Bohemia. Upon this being refused, he burst out into violence and told the Kaiser to his face that he would never serve him more. Frederick was willing to overlook this petulance in a stripling unaccustomed to control; besides, he could not afford to break with a Prince who was Lord of Austria, Styria, and Carniola, and who was able to bring 30,000 men into the field. He gave him fair words, calling to mind probably the way in which the Duke's grandfather had treated King Richard of England.* The King of Bohemia was willing to submit to the Emperor's mediation, but the Duke's unbearable pride and folly stood in the way, and a bloody battle in July was the result.†

On the last day of May, Frederick was received at the Styrian Abbey of Admont, to which he had already granted a Charter.‡ He thence passed on to Ratisbon, after having been met by the Bishop of that city, the Chancellor of the Empire. The faithful nobles of Suabia and a vast number of Princes came pouring into Ratisbon. The Duke of Saxony ap-

* See Frederick's letters for 1236.

† Chron. Erphord.

‡ Chron. Admont.

entered Worms on the 4th of July. Among these was Landolf, the Bishop of the city and the chief abettor of the revolt, whom the Emperor ordered to get out of his sight.* The Bishop of Hildesheim, an old and tried friend, was soon able to report to Pope Gregory, that owing to the favour of Rome, the Emperor had found all the Princes of Germany, great and small, ready to do his bidding, and that all thought of resistance had been given up. In the same letter, the glories of the coming Diet of Mayence were foretold.

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A short time before, Frederick had addressed a letter to the Lombards, in which he related how he had been joined by his Princes near Udine, who had made haste to swear fealty to their Lord; how great had been the concourse of loyalists at Ratisbon, where he had received good news of his English bride; how at Nuremberg he had been able to demand unconditional surrender from his rebellious son. A great Diet was to be held at Mayence on the 15th of August. Let the Lombard nobles and cities send honourable ambassadors thither, to confound the hopes of all rebels, and to animate the Princes to the establishment of the weal of the Emperor and of Italy.

The unhappy Henry had in the mean time achieved his own ruin. He disdained to accept the terms of submission proposed by his father, or to give up the stronghold of Trifels, lately the prison of an English King. He resolved to escape from Worms; but the Kaiser at once threw him into a secure prison and thence transferred him to the neighbouring Castle of

* Ann Wormatien. Ann. Argentin.

mercy with masses, that you may show sympathy with our sorrows, as you exult in our joy.'

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Warned by the evil habits which had led Henry to his ruin, the Emperor was unusually particular in the training of Conrad. Many a letter of fatherly advice did he address to his second son. Towards the end of 1238, Frederick thus admonished the boy, from whom he had but lately parted. 'High birth alone is not enough for Princes; they ought to be diligent in the pursuit of virtue. They cannot rise above their fellow-mortals, unless they outstrip them in prudence. Listen to the voice of Solomon, my son; be a true King; for if we Monarchs are without wisdom, we are ruled by others instead of ourselves being rulers. Kings are bound to be wise; they are more teachable than others, owing to their noble blood; and their folly is often the ruin of their people. You, the King of the Romans Elect, have more depending on you than other Kings have; you should therefore swiftly climb the ladder of study and reach wisdom. Lay aside your dignity; you must be a scholar, not a King or Kaiser, under your master's rod. Rejoice the heart of your father; shrink not from discipline, and be a true King.' A year after despatching this letter, which was garnished with many texts from the Proverbs, Frederick ordered two saddles to be made for Conrad at Messina, one adapted to a palfrey, the other to a destrier. A shield was also ordered for the young King's squire, who was five years older than his master. Conrad gave his father some trouble, on approaching the awkward age of seventeen. The Emperor, who probably called to mind the very different feats performed by himself at that age, was loud in his com-

a speedy decision. The King debated the matter with his Prelates and nobles for three days ; and on the 27th of February the request was granted, no one raising any objection. Isabella was brought from the Tower of London, where she had been kept in strict seclusion ; she is described as beautiful, modest as becomes a maiden, and remarkable for her dress and manners. The foreign envoys, who had asked to see her, gazed on her for some time, and then, after declaring her to be most worthy of their Emperor's bed, gave her a ring in his name, and she sent him another through Peter de Vinea. The Ambassadors all shouted 'Long live our Empress!'^{*} King Henry promised to pay the money for her dowry in sterling marks by six instalments, and to provide all things suitable to the lady's rank ; if he failed, the Pope was to constrain him to the due performance of the agreement. Among the witnesses to the contract were Richard Earl of Cornwall, the King's brother, and the famous Hubert de Burgh. The Archbishop of Cologne was to undertake to bring the Princess back to England, in the event of Frederick's death before the marriage could take place ; and the King fixed the 17th of April for the wedding day. Could Peter de Vinea, during his stay at Westminster, have interchanged thoughts on law and government with young Bracton ? It is hardly probable ; the learned Ambassador must have been too impatient to rejoin his master to make a long sojourn in England.

The Emperor, on hearing how matters stood, immediately after Easter sent over the Archbishop of

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^{*} De Wendover.

barked on the 11th of May, and a voyage of three days brought her up the Scheldt to Antwerp. There she was met by a large army, which Frederick had sent to keep guard over her ; for it was said that some of the allies of King Louis were bent on carrying her off. The wedding indeed seems a breach of the Treaty with France, made at Pordenone three years before this time. Both the Pope and the Emperor had thought it needful to apologize to Louis for the English connexion, which the one had planned and the other had accepted. Frederick had thrown all the blame, if there was any, upon Gregory, and had reminded Louis of the friendship which the two last Kings of France had ever borne to the House of Hohenstaufen, and which need not now be interrupted. He had also made proposals for a meeting in order to draw closer the alliance. The pious King was evidently wounded at Frederick's conduct, although Louis refused to avenge himself, as he easily might have done, by abetting the revolt on the Upper Rhine.

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The cities of North Western Germany had always been eager partizans of the English alliance. Isabella was therefore welcomed with the greatest enthusiasm. Ten thousand burghers of Cologne, clad in holiday garb and mounted on valuable horses, went forth to meet their beautiful Empress ; they raced, and gave proof of their skill in arms, assailing each other with lances or reeds. But the masterpiece of art was a procession of ships, which seemed to sail along the streets, the horses drawing them being shrouded from the eye of the public by silken cloths. Some clerks, sitting in the ships, tuned their musical instruments to ravishing melodies. Isabella was led

the Bishop of Exeter and the other English envoys returned home. Frederick sent three leopards to his new brother-in-law, King Henry the Third, in allusion to the Royal coat-of-arms; these animals, which had been brought from the East, became the nucleus of the Tower menagerie. The Emperor also promised help against France, the present mistress of provinces on the Seine and the Loire claimed by the English Crown. He sent back Isabella's maids of honour, and being fully persuaded of her pregnancy, he entrusted her after the fashion of his Mohammedan friends to the care of hideous black eunuchs, ugly as masks, as the English chronicler says.

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This patriot takes occasion to reply to the ill-mannered sneers of the German genealogists, who would appear to have carped at Isabella's pedigree. It seems to have been taken for granted, that a Hohenstaufen Kaiser ought to wed no bride who did not bring him at least a Kingdom as her dower. Frederick the First had married the heiress of the Kingdom of Burgundy; Henry the Sixth had married the heiress of the Kingdom of Sicily; Frederick the Second had married the heiress of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, his first wife after he had been crowned Emperor. It was thought beneath him, the wealthy and mighty Lord of the whole Earth, as the Germans fondly believed, to mate with a mere Princess. But the English monk turns round upon these envious snarlers, and points out Isabella's connexion with all the Royal houses of Europe. He then calls attention to her English honours; she is a descendant of the illustrious King Alfred, and from that point he has no doubt but that her lineage can be

Henry's ambassador to Milan, fled from the Kaiser's vengeance into Austria, and his Castle was destroyed.*

Henry von Neifen had also been active on the side of the rebels, and had harassed and robbed the loyal Count of Hohenzollern, who now petitioned Frederick for compensation. Another leader of sedition, Egeno Count of Urach, made ready for a siege in his strong Castle, and prevented Conrad von Hohenlohe and the other loyalists from taking Neifen. The Prelates, who had abetted Henry, went to Rome in obedience to the Pope's commands. Every trace of the late revolt seemed to be on the point of disappearance; what remained to be done for the perfect good order of Germany was reserved for the renowned Diet of Mayence.

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This was inaugurated by Frederick on the 15th of August. It was the last exhibition of the Holy Roman Empire in all its old pomp and unity; it was the last time that any Cæsar saw both Germany and Italy at his feet, and was able to scorn the bare idea of foreign interference with his realms, whether to the North or South of the Alps. Frederick had indeed sapped the foundations of the old system; but the building of Charlemagne and Otho was still standing in all its majesty, though the next few years would inflict sad ravages upon the time-honoured fabric. Some of Frederick's successors were thorough masters of Germany; some exerted a momentary influence both in Germany and Italy, although scarcely a year passed in which foreign arms might not overturn their work and rend their dominions asunder; but not one Emperor for the last

* Ann. Zwifalt.

into his own hands, unless for an outrage on his person or property. All unjust tolls are forbidden, and those allowed are to be expended in repairing roads and bridges. No frauds are to be perpetrated by those enjoying the right of coining. No safe-conducts are to be sold for money, unless the right be derived from the Empire; Pfahlburghers are to be removed from the cities; any one who gives a man in pledge is to be treated as a robber.

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The next Chapter must have struck home to Frederick's heart. 'Ingratitude is always hateful, more especially when a son turns against his father. Whoever strives to eject his father from his possessions or makes a league with his father's enemies, is to lose all right to his paternal inheritance; and if a son plots his father's death, he can never be restored to his rights. The son's abettors are to incur the doom of everlasting infamy. The father's cause may be prosecuted by his next of kin.'

Proscription, duly made by the Judge, is to entail outlawry. No town or city is to receive the proscribed, under the harshest penalties, which are set forth. Not only thieves, but receivers of stolen goods, are to be severely punished. By the last article, Frederick appoints a Justiciary in the Emperor's absence to preside over all causes, except those of Princes. This Official is to hold his place for at least a year, if well conducted. He is to take an oath to be an upright and incorruptible Judge. Under him is to be a lay Notary for all causes bearing on proscription, the particulars of which are to be carefully set forth, and are to serve as precedents. This second Official is to take the same oath as his Superior. Frederick was evi-

not much lower, than the Throne itself. The Chief of the Guelfs, who bore Otho's name, was now content to bow the knee before the Chief of the Hohenstaufens. He had withstood the temptations of the Romish Cardinal in 1229, and had since refrained from taking any part in the late revolt; he was accordingly now rewarded by the Kaiser. Otho the younger swore fealty to Frederick on bended knees, and gave up to the Crown his allodial possessions,* including Luneburg. He placed both his hands in those of his Kaiser, and took the usual vassal's oath on the Holy Cross of the Empire. Frederick then granted back to him his possessions, now to be held of the Empire by feudal tenure; and he moreover bestowed upon the Guelf the town of Brunswick, which the Emperor had just bought from its Princely owners; the tithes of Goslar were added; the whole was created a Duchy with the much-coveted right of female succession, and Otho was invested as first Duke with the ceremony of the banners. Every Prince, then at Mayence, set his seal to Frederick's Charter; the worthy Bishop of Hildesheim alone protested against any infringement on the rights of his See, to which Otho was a dangerous neighbour. The Kaiser begged that the day, on which he had augmented the Empire by adding to it another Prince, might be enrolled in all the annals of Germany.†

Henceforward Otho and his successors the Dukes of Brunswick, laying aside all thoughts of gaining the Imperial Crown, rooted themselves fast in their Duchy. They saw the rival race pass away for ever;

* Quod idiomate Teutonico vocatur Eygen. See Frederick's deed of gift.

† Godefr. Colon. Chron. Hildesheim.

because the glory of the Fatherland seemed in a certain sense to be bound up with the greatness of his House. Their sires had followed its fortunes through weal and woe for a hundred years. One generation had marched to the siege of Damascus under Conrad, the first Hohenstaufen Monarch. Another generation had aided Barbarossa in razing the haughty Lombard capital to the ground, had borne the holy relics of the Three Kings from Milan to Cologne, and had shared the disasters of their great Head at Rome and Lignano. A third generation had followed Henry the Sixth to rifle the treasures of Palermo, had seen the caged Lion of England brought up before him for judgment, and had after his untimely death fought for his brother Philip against the rival House of Guelf. They themselves, the nobles who now surrounded Frederick the Second, could remember how the Boy from Sicily had come across the Alps at the bidding of Pope Innocent to win the Crown of the Holy Roman Empire, and some of them had been his comrades in the Fifth Crusade, the only successful attempt upon Palestine within the memory of man. These adventurers could appreciate his courage and conduct under the most trying circumstances. They now beheld him once more among them on the banks of their own Rhine. They all swore to back him in his next attempt to bring the insolent rebels of Lombardy to order. The Minnesingers, such as Walter von Vogelweide, were loud in praise of so noble a patron of their art; they saw with joy that in spite of his long residence in the South he had not forgotten the old German lays which his forefathers had loved. From his time dates the modernized form of the Nibelungen Lied,

to lay aside his wrath against the Lombards, and to allow the Church to mediate between the Crown and its turbulent subjects. The union of Christendom would be the salvation of Palestine. It is said, that the Pope was at this very time intriguing against the election of Frederick's second son.* The Monarch, however, sent back word, that the Princes had taken an oath to help him against the Lombards in the April of the ensuing year. The warriors assembled had all shouted and held up their hands, the old German way of confirming an oath. Still, the Pope might settle the business, if he could, by Christmas.

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The Kaiser, while at Mayence, granted a charter to his old friend the Bishop of Hildesheim, who had crossed the Alps no less than four times on behalf of the Crusade.† A Count from Franche-Comté complained to the Diet that his daughter Clemence was kept a prisoner by Egeno of Urach, a lover of strife, who had also robbed her of her share in the great Zähringen inheritance; this outrage was redressed. On returning to Haguenau from Mayence, Frederick brought with him the Chancellor, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, and several other nobles. He sat in his Palace to administer justice, and found much to do in repairing the damage suffered by the loyalists during the late rebellion. Godfrey von Hohenlohe was promised 1000 silver marks by Walter von Limburg as compensation for outrages undergone, and certain Castles were handed over by the aggressor as pledges to be kept until the instalments were paid. Louis von Schipf entered into an agreement with

* See Frederick's letters for 1239.

† Ann. Hildesheim.

destroying the Castles of the Bavarian robber-knights, and in passing sentence of death on malefactors, high and low. He betrothed the daughter of Duke Otho to his son Conrad, but the bride was soon carried off by death. The Duke of Austria is said to have been affrighted at his own folly and at the Kaiser's wisdom; he would not however allow provisions to be supplied to the Court from his provinces.* Frederick ordered the Officials in the district of Stade to obey their new Lord, Otho of Brunswick, and commanded the burghers of Stade to restore to him his rights. The Duke of Bavaria made an arrangement with the Abbot of Tegernsee in Frederick's presence. On the 1st of November a new Diet was held, when the King of Bohemia received 10,000 marks from the Imperial Crown for that part of Suabia which formed the inheritance of his Queen, Frederick's cousin.† Hermann von Salza procured grants for his Order both in Germany and Palestine. The services rendered by the Styrian towns in the spring were not forgotten.

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Towards the end of November Frederick returned from Augsburg to Hagenau, where he passed the winter. The Emperor of the Romans was in all his glory, and foreigners flocked to his brilliant Court not far from the Rhine. His cousin the Queen of Castile, who was herself a Hohenstaufen by birth, sent him some very fine horses and other costly gifts; her death, which soon followed, was a great sorrow to him. The Count of Provence, at this time fifty years old, sought the honour of knighthood

* Continuatio Sancerucensis. Ann. Salisburg

† Godefr. Colon.

parts, and put a question to them. Did the Jews hold Christian blood to be a necessary ingredient in their Passover? if so, every Jew in the Empire ought to be slain. Not one of the learned Doctors ventured to answer the question absolutely in the affirmative; they were therefore debarred from carrying out the conclusion. This device of the Emperor saved the Jews for the moment, and put a large sum of money into his coffers.* The like massacres were going on in other countries; in England, young Hugh of Lincoln was soon to be enrolled in the Calendar; in France, King Louis not long after this time ordered all the Hebrew books to be burnt. The Pope was almost the only friend who came forward to shield the unhappy Israelites; he was in consequence denounced by the fiery zealots of Christendom as a taker of Jewish bribes.†

Frederick sent the news of the Fulda tragedy to his English brother-in-law by Walter of Ocre, a priest who was usually employed as the Emperor's ambassador to Westminster, and who afterwards rose to the highest honours in the Kingdom of Sicily. Henry the Third had given Walter a safe-conduct, which would take him through any part of England, Wales, or Ireland.‡ The King sent back two Jewish converts, to assist in answering Frederick's question as to the murderous nature of the Hebrew rites. Germany and England were still in alliance against France. Henry had four years before expressed to Frederick his wish, that the County of Burgundy might be transferred to other hands.§ The Emperor

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* Chron. Erphord. Annal. Argentin. † Raynaldus.

‡ Rymer, for 1236.

§ Rymer, for 1232.

in the previous year had beheld with wonder his long train of camels.* How he got them across the Alps, we are not told. He bestowed an ample charter upon the burghers of Strasburg, and abolished in their favour the right of high-born land-owners to seize on wrecked vessels. Returning to Haguenau, he invested the new Bishop of Ratzburg with his temporalities. In April, the Kaiser was at Spire, where he protected laymen against Churchmen, a practice at this time unusual with him. The Bishop of Trent had laid unlawful taxes on the men of Sopramonte, had carried off their goods, and had thrown them into dungeons, where some of them had died. Frederick indignantly forbade this oppression, and defined the exact amount of tribute to be paid henceforth by the vassals of the Bishopric. Four Prelates put their names to the merciful edict. After making ready for his Italian campaign, and after sending on the vanguard of his army under Gebhard von Arnstein, Frederick took part in a religious ceremony.

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All Germany was at this time triumphing in the possession of a new Saint, whom Pope Gregory had lately enrolled in the Calendar. She came of a bad stock ; her father was Andrew, the very unsaintly King of Hungary ; her mother was Gertrude of Meran, whose death had been brought about in 1213 by unqueenly wickedness. These were the parents of the good Saint Elizabeth, one of those remarkable women whose piety did so much to mitigate the harshness of the feudal times. She was married, while still a child, to Landgrave Louis of

* Ann. Colmar.

passed anything within the memory of man ; twelve hundred thousand persons are said to have been present. The Archbishops of Mayence and Treves and the Bishop of Hildesheim had been charged by Pope Gregory with the office of translation. The Emperor, who never lost an opportunity of proving in public his zeal for the faith, opened the tomb of his cousin the Hungarian Saint, and placed a golden Crown from his own treasury upon her head.* Her corpse, which of course wrought many miracles on the occasion, and whence oil was said to flow, was placed in a golden reliquary, where it remained until the Lutherans laid hands upon its treasures, the accumulation of three hundred years.† Frederick avowed himself a believer in the miracles wrought, which he noticed in a remarkable letter addressed to his friend Elias, the General of the Minorites. ‘Our Imperial Excellence cannot but be illustrated by the beams of the glory of our Royal cousin, for we rejoice that our Saviour came of the Royal race of David, and the Books of the Old Testament prove that the ark of alliance can be touched by noble hands alone. But we call God to witness, that it is not the relationship or the noble birth of the Saint, but devotion alone, that causes us to proclaim what we have seen with our own eyes. If we are proud that God has revived the old miracles in our time, owing to the merits of the Blessed Eliza-

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* ‘ Dae was darbey Keyser Friderich,
Der beweyset sich gar adelich ;
Und opfert eine gulden Krone,
Eine kostliche und schone.

Old Song in Menecken.

† Godefr. Colon. and others.

guidance of such an enlightened Prince as Frederick was, would have produced during his reign buildings at least as noble as those raised by her Western sisters; but this was not the case. The Empire seems most unwillingly to have abandoned the old national style of architecture, in which Otho the Great and Conrad the Salic had delighted. Some of the Churches built in Germany during the first half of the Thirteenth Century do indeed somewhat remind us of our own Early English, especially by the quatrefoil ornament, the banded columns, and the black marble so often used, answering to that of Purbeck. Still the progress made at this time by Germany was certainly not equal to that made by England, France, and Spain. The beautiful little sexagonal Chapel of St. Matthias, which looks down upon the Moselle from the height above Cobern, and which is said to have been built by Crusaders, possibly by some of Frederick's comrades, on a small scale reminds us of the Rotunda of the Temple Church in London, though the latter was built much earlier. The contemporary Abbey of Romersdorf near Coblenz, now turned into a hay-loft, has a Chapter-house and cloisters worthy of England. The central Decagon of St. Gereon at Cologne, begun in 1201, shows how the pointed style was slowly but surely gaining ground upon the old round arch; but at the same time St. Cunegunda, a Church in the same city dedicated only two years after Frederick's death, proves how resolutely the Germans clung to their old national style, even while using the pointed arch to a limited extent; and the same may be said of the noble Churches of Sinzig and Andernach, on the banks of the Rhine. The cloisters of the

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von Sneite, who overawed the citizens and governed them as he willed.* The Pope now wrote to the Archbishop of Mayence to consecrate Landolf the Bishop elect of Worms, after a commission had sat upon him; this turbulent Prelate returned late in the year from Rome, and put an end to the hopes of Henry of Catania, one of Frederick's subjects, who had aspired to Landolf's chair.†

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In May the Kaiser visited Coblentz, where he was very unsuccessful in enlisting men for the impending Campaign in Italy; he had better fortune afterwards in Suabia and Alsace, the two main strongholds of his influence.‡ He gave a Charter to the burghers of Cologne, whose rights were protected against all men, including their Archbishop. The Prelate of Treves was ordered to inquire into a fact stated by the men of Dortmund, that their old Charter had been burnt; it was now renewed to them by Frederick. Two matters were at this time weighing heavily upon him; the war with Lombardy, and the war with Austria. The last months of happy peace which he was ever fated to enjoy were now speedily slipping away.

After issuing a proclamation against the Lombard rebels, Frederick turned his attention to the Danube. The Duke of Austria had been true to his character. Ever since his accession six years before, he had heaped insults upon the Emperor. He had been the same in 1235 as in 1232. He had refused to appear at the great Diet of Mayence in the former year, entangling himself in a war with the King of

* Ann. Wormat.

† Ann. Wormat.

‡ Godefr. Colon.

according to his folly, and was at length to be chastised. CHAP.
X.

Frederick went up the Rhine from Coblenz, visiting Boppard and Wiesbaden, whence he turned aside to Frankfort. The Teutonic Order, the Church of St. Servais, the Abbot of Heisterbach, and the burghers of Worms were partakers of his bounty. He then moved eastwards to Wurzburg and Werda. In June, another obstacle which had long confronted him, and which was to wear away the remainder of his life, started up in its full proportions. 1231-1236.

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